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# RECORDS OF THE PAST

BEING ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF EGYPT AND  
WESTERN ASIA

*NEW SERIES*

EDITED BY A. H. SAYCE

HON. LL.D. DUBLIN ; HON. D.D. EDINBURGH

VOL. II



Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una

LONDON

SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS, LIMITED

15 PATERNOSTER ROW

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## PREFACE

THE present volume of *Records of the Past* possesses a melancholy interest. It contains the last literary monument of one of the most valued of my fellow-workers, M. Arthur Amiaud, who died suddenly just after completing the final pages of his translations of the inscriptions of Tel-loh. No other Assyrian scholar had so thoroughly mastered the secrets of the non-Semitic language of ancient Chaldæa, and the knowledge which has perished with him is for science an irreparable loss. The hand that traced the interpretation of the mysterious records of primeval Shinar was not permitted to revise it in proof.

It will be seen that I have been able to redeem my promise of editing the latest and most authoritative translations of the early Egyptian texts, and I am fortunate in having secured the help of Professor Maspero, the most eminent of living Egyptologists, for the work. I hope next year to be able to redeem my other promise of bringing out two volumes during the same year.

I must take this opportunity of correcting a misreading which I have allowed to appear in two

passages of the last volume of the *Records*. The name of the Hittite prince mentioned by the Vannic king Menuas is not Sada-hadas, as it is given on pages 97 and 165, but Sada-halis, as it is correctly transcribed in the transliteration and translation of the inscription itself (pp. 165, 166).

In the translations doubtful words and expressions are followed by a note of interrogation, the preceding word being put into italics where necessary. The names of individuals are distinguished from those of deities or localities by being printed in Roman type, whereas the names of deities and localities are in capitals.

A. H. SAYCE.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
*July 1889.*

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EQUIVALENTS OF THE HEBREW LETTERS IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF ASSYRIAN NAMES MENTIONED IN THESE VOLUMES.

|   |              |   |              |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| א | <i>a, ' </i> | ל | <i>l</i>     |
| ב | <i>b</i>     | מ | <i>m</i>     |
| ג | <i>g</i>     | נ | <i>n</i>     |
| ד | <i>d</i>     | ס | <i>'s, s</i> |
| ה | <i>h</i>     | ע | <i>e</i>     |
| ו | <i>u, v</i>  | פ | <i>p</i>     |
| ז | <i>z</i>     | צ | <i>ts</i>    |
| ח | <i>kh</i>    | ק | <i>q</i>     |
| ט | <i>dh</i>    | ר | <i>r</i>     |
| י | <i>i, y</i>  | ש | <i>s, sh</i> |
| ך | <i>k</i>     | ת | <i>t</i>     |

*N.B.*—Those Assyriologists who transcribe ש by *sh* use *s* for ס  
The Assyrian *e* represents a diphthong as well as ע.

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In the Introductions and Notes W. A. I. denotes *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* in five volumes published by the Trustees of the British Museum.



## INSCRIPTION OF UNI (OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY)

TRANSLATED BY PROF. MASPERO

THIS inscription adorned one of the walls of the tomb which Uni had built for himself at Abydos in the central part of the necropolis (Mariette : *Abydos*, vol. ii. p. 41 ; *Catalogue Général*, p. 84, No. 522). It was discovered there by Mariette and transferred to the Museum of Boulaq (Mariette : *Notice des principaux Monuments*, 1864, pp. 286-287), where it now bears the number 886 (Maspero : *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 209-211). E. de Rougé copied it there in 1865 and made an analysis of it, intermingled with translations, which he published in his *Recherches sur les Monuments* (pp. 117-128, 135-149, pl. vii., viii.) His work served as a starting-point for the complete translations of Birch ("Inscription of Una," in the *Records of the Past*, prior series, ii. pp. 1-8), and the partial translations of Maspero (*Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, 1875, pp. 88-92; 1886, pp. 81-85) and of Brugsch (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 95-102). The text has been published a second time, but some-

what incorrectly, by Mariette (*Abydos*, vol. ii. pp. 44-49) ; it has again been edited, with the corrections of Brugsch and Golenischeff, by Erman (*Commentar zur Inschrift des Una* in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 1-29), together with a translation and a grammatical commentary, some points in which have been slightly modified by Erman in his work on Egypt (*Aegypten*, pp. 688-690, *et passim*). Brugsch has devoted one of the most interesting of his memoirs to the study of the names of the Nubian populations contained in our inscription (*Die Negerstämme der Una-Inschrift* in the *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 30-36).

The inscription consists of 52 lines, of which the first alone is horizontal and runs along the summit of the wall like a sort of general title. On the right side it has suffered a little, and the lines at the beginning have lost almost all the characters at the top and the bottom of them ; but only two or three of these *lacunæ* are impossible to fill up, and interrupt the sense. Everywhere else, the expression is clear, easy to comprehend, and the difficulties which it offers to the interpreter result only from our present ignorance of the exact signification of certain terms peculiar to architecture, navigation, and the military art at the remote epoch to which the inscription belongs. The portions of the text which have been restored are enclosed between brackets.

The stele which was found with this inscription is in the Museum of Boulaq at Cairo, and has the form of a false door : it is evidently the same which

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was given to Uni by king Merirî Pepi, as stated in the inscription. Mariette has given a description of the stele in his *Catalogue Général des Monuments d' Abydos* (p. 90, No. 529 ; cfer. J. and E. de Rougé : *Inscriptions*, vol. i. pl. II.). The tomb of Auu, the father of Uni, has been discovered at Abydos (E. de Rougé : *Recherches sur les Monuments*, p. 144, note 1). Uni died before Mirinirî, who is the last king mentioned in his biography ; if, as I have conjectured, he was born in the reign of Unas, his age could not have exceeded sixty years.

## THE INSCRIPTION OF UNI

[ROYAL offering to OSIRIS the lord of BUSIRIS] in order that there may be given to him a revenue in bread and liquors, at every festival and each day, with an abundance [of everything, a thousand loaves], a thousand cups of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand geese, a thousand ducks, a thousand fowls, a thousand birds, a thousand cloths, a thousand [pieces of linen, for] the prefect of the country of the south, the guardian of NEKHNI, the dictator of NEKHABIT,<sup>1</sup> sole friend, feudal vassal of OSIRIS KHONTA-MENTIT, [Uni;]

[He says:]

[I was born under the Majesty of Unas. I was still a youth] wearing the fillet under the Majesty of Teti,<sup>2</sup> and employed as superintendent of the treasury, when I was promoted<sup>3</sup> to the inspectorship of the irrigated lands of Pharaoh. When I was chief of the secret chamber under the Majesty of Pepi, his Majesty confers on me the dignity of Friend (and) controlling prophet of his pyramid; then when [I held this office] his Majesty made me Sâbu, guardian of NEKHNI, [for his heart] was satisfied with me above any other of his servants. I heard then all that happened, I alone with a Sâbu, clerk to the Porte, in every secret affair, [and I executed all the writings]<sup>4</sup> which had

<sup>1</sup> Nekhni and Nekhabit are names applied to Eilithyia, to-day El-Kab, and to the surrounding country.

<sup>2</sup> The commencement is conjecturally restored from an inscription published by Champollion : *Notices*, vol. ii. p. 697. The name of King Unas is introduced only conjecturally.

<sup>3</sup> *Iri-ni Pirui-âa S. huzu [khonti]*, literally "I made an inspector," etc. *Iri* is used here in the same manner as in the phrase *iri himit*, "to take a wife," "to marry," literally "to make a wife."

<sup>4</sup> I complete the passage thus : *nuki iri m ân nib am sit*, "I execute

to be executed in the name of the king whether for the harem of the king or for the residence of the Six, so that I satisfied the heart of the king more than any other of his peers, (or) of his mamelouk nobles, more than any other of his servants. [An order was also issued] by the Majesty of my lord that a sarcophagus of white stone should be brought to me from Roïu.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty sent a temple-slave in a boat with the soldiers [the hewers of the stone and the artisans] with orders to convey this sarcophagus to me from Roïu; and this sarcophagus comes with a temple-slave in a large pontoon<sup>2</sup> from the royal administration, as well as its lid, a stele in the form of a gate, (to wit) the frame, the two middle blocks, and the threshold;<sup>3</sup> never had anything like it been made for any other servant whatever; but it happened that my wisdom pleased his Majesty and that also my zeal pleased his Majesty and that also the heart of his Majesty was satisfied with me. Also from my being *Sâbu*, guardian of NEKHNI, his Majesty made me sole Friend, superintendent of the irrigated lands of the Pharaoh<sup>4</sup> over the superintendents of the cultivated lands who are there, and I acted to the satisfaction of his Majesty, both when I had to keep guard behind the Pharaoh and (when I had) to settle the royal itinerary, or to arrange the peers, and I acted in all this to the satisfaction of his Majesty above everything. When moreover one went to the royal harem to inform against the great royal wife Amitsi, secretly, his Majesty made me alone descend into it in order to listen to business, no *Sâbu* clerk of the Porte being there, nor any peer except myself alone, because of (my) wisdom

every writing among them . . . for the royal dwelling and the dwelling of the Six," the pronoun *sît* referring to the feminine words *Suten-apit* and *Hait-sas* which are found at the end of the sentence.

<sup>1</sup> The quarries of Tourah, opposite the site of Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> For the exact sense of the Egyptian words see Maspero, "De quelques termes," in the *Proceedings*, May 1889.

<sup>3</sup> The class of vessel named *satu* is represented in Lepsius, ii. 76, where the *satu* Apahti of king Assi is seen transporting the sarcophagus of this prince along with its lid. It is a pontoon without a mast, whose bridge is so strengthened as not to yield under the weight of the blocks of stone with which it is loaded.

<sup>4</sup> [*Pirui-âa*, literally "the two great houses" or "palaces." Compare the designation of the Sublime-Porte. —*Ed.*]

and my zeal which pleased his Majesty, because the heart of his Majesty was satisfied with me ; it was I who wrote everything down, I alone with a *Sâbu* guardian of NEKHNI. Now my employment was that of superintendent of the irrigated lands of the Pharaoh, and there never had been any of this rank who had heard the secrets of the royal harem, in former days, excepting me, when his Majesty made me hear (them), because my wisdom pleased his Majesty more than any other of his peers, more than any other of his mamelouks, more than any other of his servants.

When his Majesty carried war to the district of the nomad HIRUSHÂU, and when his Majesty formed an army of several myriads, levied throughout the entire South, southward starting from ELEPHANTINÊ, northward starting from the LETOPOLITAN nome,<sup>1</sup> in the country of the north, in the two confines in their entirety, in each station between the fortified stations of the desert, in AROTIT a country of the NEGROES, in ZAMU a country of the NEGROES, in AMAMU a country of the NEGROES, in UUAÏT a country of the NEGROES, in QAAU a country of the NEGROES, in TOTAM a country of the NEGROES<sup>2</sup>; his Majesty sent me at the head of this army. There were generals in it, there were mamelouks of the king of LOWER EGYPT in it, there were sole Friends of the Pharaoh in it, there were in it dictators and princes of the south and of the land of the north,<sup>3</sup> *Golden* Friends and superintendents of the prophets of the south and of the land of the north, prefects of the confines at the head of the militia of the south and of the land of the north, cities and boroughs

<sup>1</sup> Aait ; the symbol of the leg is badly drawn, but perfectly recognisable in the original, as Rougé saw from the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> On these populations of Nubia see the article of Brugsch, "Die Negerstämme der Una-Insehrift," in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 30-36.

<sup>3</sup> The term *hi-top* which I render by "dictator" or "podestà" is peculiar to the governors and feudal lords of the nomes of Upper Egypt, that of *Hîqa-hâit* or "prince" being reserved for the governors and feudal lords of Lower Egypt. The titles which follow—"Friends," "superintendents of the prophets"—are usually attached to the preceding, and confer on those who bear them religious authority over the priests of the nome which they govern.



which they governed, as well as negroes from the regions mentioned (above), and nevertheless it was I who laid down the law for them—although my employment was that of superintendent of the irrigated lands of the Pharaoh with the title belonging to my office<sup>1</sup>—so that each of them obeyed like all the rest,<sup>2</sup> and each of them took with him what he needed as regards bread and sandals for the journey, and each of them took beer from every town, and each of them took every kind of small cattle from every individual. I led them to AMIHIT, SIBRINIHOTPU, UÂRIT of HORU NIB-MÂÏr;<sup>3</sup> then being in this locality [I marshalled them, I regulated] everything and I counted the number of this army which no servant had ever counted (before). This army marched prosperously<sup>4</sup>; it shattered<sup>5</sup> the country of the HIRUSHÂU. This army marched prosperously; it destroyed the country of the HIRUSHÂU. This army marched prosperously; it conquered their fortresses.<sup>6</sup> This army marched prosperously; it cut down their fig-trees and their vines. This army marched prosperously; it set fire to the [houses of] the inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> This army marched prosperously; it slew their soldiers by myriads. This army marched in peace; it led away captive<sup>8</sup> a very great number of the inhabitants of the country, and his Majesty

<sup>1</sup> Literally "by the right (*ni muti*) of my place." The phrase following is not yet so clear as one could wish. It seems to enumerate what Uni did to "make the law" (*iri sokheru*) for those who were above himself in rank and whom nevertheless he commanded.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "to put the one of them like all his seconds."

<sup>3</sup> Three localities on the eastern frontier of the Delta, whose sites are unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "in peace" (*m hotpu*), answering to the salutation of the modern Egyptian fellahin, *bi-ssalâmat*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bi* literally signifies "to break up with the pick."

<sup>6</sup> *Uonit*, Coptic *uon*, "mound."

<sup>7</sup> I have restored the text from a passage in an inscription of Usirtasen III, where analogous raids are described (Lepsius: *Denkmäler*, ii. pl. 136, lines 14-16).

<sup>8</sup> The expression is *m-sokit-onkhu*, literally "among those who had been struck alive." It refers us to a barbarous mode of warfare in which no prisoners were taken except those who had been struck by the stone mace,—a weapon which serves as a determinative of the verb *soku*,—and whom their wound must have left half dead on the field of battle. They were called "the living-stricken" in opposition to those who had been killed by the mace.

praised me because of this above everything. His Majesty sent me to lead this army five times, in order to penetrate<sup>1</sup> into the country of the HIRU-SHÂU, as often as they revolted against this army, and I acted to the satisfaction of his Majesty in this above everything. Then as it was said that there were rebels among those barbarians who extended as far as towards TIBA,<sup>2</sup> I sailed in ships with this army, I attacked the coasts of this country to the north of the country of the HIRU-SHÂU; then this army being on the march, I went and overthrew them all, and I slew all the rebels among them.

When I was at the great House with the right of carrying the wand and the sandals, the Pharaoh Mirinri made me governor-general of the South, southward starting from ELEPHANTINÊ (and) northward as far as the LETOPOLITAN nome, because my wisdom pleased his Majesty, because my zeal pleased his Majesty, because the heart of his Majesty was satisfied with me: when then I was invested with the right of carrying the wand and the sandals, his Majesty favoured me therefore (giving me part of) the cattle intended for the palace; when I was in my place I was above all his peers, and all his mamelouks and all his servants, and this dignity had never been conferred on any servant whatever before. I filled to the satisfaction of the king my part of superintendent of the South, so as to be allowed to stand at his side second (in rank) to him, accomplishing all the duties of an engineer, judging all causes that there were to judge

<sup>1</sup> *Teru-to* is in its origin a nautical term, literally "to strike," "dash against the ground," borrowed from the manœuvring of vessels on the Nile.

<sup>2</sup> On this name, see Maspero: *Notes in Lepsius's Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 64; and Piehl: *Varia* in the *Zeitschrift*, 1888, p. 111, who has not been able to read the characters composing the name. Perhaps we may identify it, as Krall does (*Studien zur Geschichte des Alten Ägyptens*, iii. p. 22), with the name of Tebui met with in a text at Edfu (Dümichen: *Tempelinschriften*, i. pl. lxxiii. l. 2, and *Die Oasen der libyschen Wüste*, pl. xvi. e), which Brugsch (*Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, p. 92) does not know where to locate. If the identification is correct, we can conclude that Tebui, associated as it is with Amit and the north-east of Egypt, was a canton situated beyond Lake Menzaleh; the expedition of Uni would have been made on the lake, not on the sea. Possibly there may also be a reference to the arm of the sea which extended to the Bitter Lakes.

for the royal administration in this south of Egypt, as second judge, at every hour appointed for judgment for the royal administration in this south of Egypt as second judge ; regulating as governor all there was to do in this south of Egypt, and never had anything like (this) taken place in this south of Egypt before ; and I did all this to the satisfaction of his Majesty accordingly. His Majesty sent me to ABHAÏT,<sup>1</sup> to bring back the sarcophagus (called) the Coffe of the Living, with its lid, as well as the true and precious pyramidion of the pyramid (called) "KHÂNOFIR mistress of Mirinrî." His Majesty sent me to ELEPHANTINÊ to bring a stele in the form of a false door, together with its base of granite, as well as the portcullis and the framework of granite [for the passage of the pyramid], (and) to bring back the gates and the thresholds of the exterior chapel of the pyramid "KHÂNOFIR mistress of Mirin-rî." I returned with them to the pyramid KHÂNOFIR of Mirin-rî in six galliots, three pontoons, three barges, (and) a man of war,—never had there been a man of war at ABHAÏT or at ELEPHANTINÊ ; so all things that his Majesty had ordered me (to do) were accomplished fully as his Majesty had ordered them. His Majesty sent me to HATNUBU<sup>2</sup> to transport a large table of offerings of alabaster. I brought this table of offerings down [from the mountain] : as it was impossible in HATNUBU to despatch (it) along the course of the current in this galliot, I cut a galliot out of the wood of the acacia-sont, 60 cubits long and 30 cubits broad ; I embarked the 17th day of the third month of Shomu, and although there was no water over the sand-banks of the river I reached the pyramid KHÂNOFIR of Mirin-rî prosperously ; I was there with [the table of offerings] without fail according to the order which the majesty of my lord had deigned to command me. His Majesty sent me to excavate five docks (?) in the South and to construct three galliots and four pontoons of acacia-sont of UAUÏT ; now the negro princes of the

<sup>1</sup> A locality in the vicinity of Assuân, where there were quarries of gray granite.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Banûb el-Hammâm, where there are quarries of marble on the right bank of the Nile in the neighbourhood of Siut (Brugsch : *History of Egypt*, 2d Edit., vol. i. p. 124).

countries of AROTIT, UAUAIT, AAMU, (and) MAZA felled the wood for that purpose, and I accomplished it all in only one year, the transportation to the water and the loading of large quantities of granite for the pyramid KHÂNOFIR of Mirin-rî ;<sup>1</sup> and moreover I caused a palace to be constructed for each of these five docks (?), because I venerate, because I exalt, because I adore above all the gods, the souls of the king Mirin-rî, living for ever, because I have been (raised) above everything according to the order of which his double has given unto me, even to me who am the beloved of his father, the lauded of his mother, the magnate in his city, the delighter of his brethren, the governor in actual command of the South, the vassal of OSIRIS, Uni.

<sup>1</sup> These blocks of granite are probably those which still obstruct the passage of the pyramid of Mirin-rî (Maspero : *La Pyramide de Mirin-rî* I in the *Recueil*, vol. ix. p. 179).

## THE ADVENTURES OF SINUHIT (OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY)

TRANSLATED BY PROF. MASPERO

THE Berlin Papyrus No. 1, purchased by Lepsius in Egypt and published by him in the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Ethiopien*, vi. pl. 104-107, is injured at the beginning. In its present condition it contains 312 lines of text. The first 179 lines are vertical; then come 96 lines (180-276) which are horizontal; but from line 277 to the end the scribe has returned to the system of vertical columns. The first 40 lines that are preserved have suffered more or less from wear and tear; five of them (1, 13-15, 38) present lacunæ which I could never have succeeded in filling up, had I not had the good fortune to discover at Thebes a new manuscript. The end is intact and concludes with the well-known formula: "It is completed from its commencement to its termination as has been found in the book." The writing, very clear and bold in the vertical portions, becomes clumsy and confused in the horizontal portions; it is full of ligatures and rapidly-written forms which at times render its decipherment difficult.

The Berlin Papyrus has been analysed and translated by Chabas: *Le Papyrus de Berlin, récits d'il y a quatre mille ans* and *Panthéon littéraire*, vol. i., in part only; by Goodwin in full in *Frazer's Magazine*, 1865, pp. 185-202, and in a separate form under the title of *The Story of Saneha* (Williams and Norgate, 1865); this translation was corrected by the author in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift* (1872, pp. 10-24), and reproduced in the former series of *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 131-150. Maspero transcribed it in hieroglyphics and translated it in French: *Le Papyrus de Berlin No. 1* (1874-76), in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, vol. iii. pp. 68-82, 140 *sqq.*; partly reproduced with corrections in the *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 4th edit., pp. 97, 98, 101-104, and in full in the *Contes Egyptiens*, 2d edit., pp. 87-130. Dr. H. D. Haigh has examined the historical and geographical data contained in the story in an article in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1875, pp. 78-107, and Prof. Erman has inserted a short analysis of it in his book: *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1885-88), pp. 494-497.

We possess on an ostrakon in the British Museum (No. 5629) the duplicate of a part of the text. This ostrakon, first mentioned by Dr. Birch in his memoir on the Abbott Papyrus, has been published by him, in facsimile, in his *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic character, from the Collections of the British Museum* (1868), pl. xxiii. p. 8.

The identity of the text on the ostrakon with that of the last lines of the Berlin Papyrus was pointed out for the first time by Goodwin: *On a Hieratic Inscription upon a stone in the British Museum* (Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 20-24), where the transcription and translation of the text are given at full length. The script belongs to the age of the twentieth dynasty, and this fact is important, as it proves that the story, composed at the latest in the epoch of the sixteenth or seventeenth dynasty, remained a classic for long afterwards.

As the version given on the ostrakon differs in certain details from that of the Papyrus, it will be useful to insert here a complete translation of it:—

“[I was allowed] to construct [a pyramid] of stone, in the circle of the pyramids.

The stone-cutters cut the tomb, and divided its walls; the architects designed them; the superintendent of the sculptors sculptured them; the superintendent of the works in the necropolis traversed the country (for) all the furniture with which I furnished this tomb. I allotted peasants to it, and there were lakes, fields (and) gardens in its domain, as in the case of Friends of the highest rank. [There was] a statue of gold with a silver-gilt hilt, which the sons of the king made for me, rejoicing to do so for me; for I was in favour with the king until the day arrived when one attains the other bank.

It is ended prosperously in peace.”

The portion wanting at the commencement has been found at Thebes on an ostrakon, picked up on the 6th of February 1886 in the tomb of Sonnozmu. It is a fragment of limestone, broken in half, more

than three feet in length and about seven inches in breadth, covered with hieratic characters of somewhat large size, punctuated with red ink and divided into paragraphs like most of the MSS. of the epoch of the Ramessids. On the back, two lines, unfortunately almost illegible, give us the name of a scribe which I cannot decipher, probably the name of the person who wrote the text. The fracture is not recent. The limestone has been broken at the very moment of its introduction into the tomb, and the act has not been accomplished without injury to the inscription; some splinters of the stone have disappeared and have carried portions of words away with them. Most of these lacunæ can be filled up without difficulty. The text is very incorrect, like that of all works intended for the use of the dead. Many of the variants presented by it result from faulty readings of the original manuscript; the scribe could not read with accuracy the archaic style of writing. The ostrakon has been published by Maspero: *Les premières lignes des Mémoires de Sinouhit, restituées d'après l'Ostrakon 27,419 du musée de Boulaq*, with two plates in facsimile in the *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, ii. pp. 1-23.

The discovery of this new document allows us to reconstruct the route followed by Sinuhit in his flight. He left the camp on the Libyan frontier in the land of the Timihu, thus starting from the west and turning his back on the "Canton of the Sycomore." According to Brugsch (*Dictionnaire*



*géographique*, p. 53), Nuhit, "the Canton of the Sycomore," is the Panaho of the Copts, the Athribis of the Greeks, the modern Benha el-Assal. This identification, however, falls of itself, since Nuhit is mentioned at the very beginning of the journey, and consequently must have been on the western bank of the Nile, whereas Benha is on the eastern. I had at first considered the "Canton of the Sycomore" as a mode of designating the whole of Egypt. But we have long been acquainted with a Nuhit or Pa-nib-nuhit, which appears to have been in the first instance only a quarter of Memphis, and subsequently to have denoted the whole of Memphis (Brugsch, *Diction. Géog.*, pp. 330-332). The "Canton of the Sycomore" is probably this "Quarter of the Sycomore," and Sinuhit, the son of the Sycomore, the Memphite, in declaring that he turns his back on Nuhit, simply means to tell us that he departs from Memphis, his native place, to go to Shi-Snofrui. The "Wady of Snofrui" is not otherwise known. Brugsch, however, identifies it with the Myekphorite nome of Herodotos (iii. 166), thanks to a pronunciation Mui-hik-Snofru, borne according to him by the characters which compose the name (*Diction. Géog.*, p. 54). The position occupied by this town in the itinerary leads me to look for it between the Libyan desert, Memphis, and the city of Khri-Ahu or the Egyptian Babylon, about a day's journey from this latter and perhaps in the vicinity of the pyramids of Gizeh and Abu-Roâsh. When the evening arrived, Sinuhit

approached Khri-Ahu, crossed the Nile, and resumed his journey, passing eastward of the country of Iauku. This country was hitherto unknown ; it is, I believe, the district of the stone-cutters, all the region of quarries which extends from Tourah to the desert along the Gebel Ahhmar or "Red Mountain." Thence Sinuhit marched on foot as far as one of the fortified posts which protected Egypt on this side, between Abu-Zabel and Belbeis. Beyond this, he mentions only Puteni and Qimoîri. Brugsch identifies Puteni with a country of Pât which he has met with on a monument of the Saitic period, and of which the modern city of Belbeis would represent the centre (*Diction. Géog.*, pp. 54, 55). The great Ptolemaic stele discovered by Mr. Naville at Tel el-Maskhuta furnishes some data for determining pretty exactly the position of Qimoîri. It contains a name Qimoîr, which Mr. Naville has identified, with good reason, with the Qimoîri of the story of Sinuhit (*The Store-city of Pithom and the route of the Exodus*, pp. 21, 22). Ptolemy Philadelphus built here the city which he called Arsinoe after his sister, which became one of the emporia of Egyptian trade with the Red Sea. Mr. Naville places Arsinoe, and consequently Qimoîri, near the modern el-Maghfâr in the heart of the ancient Gulf of Suez. This site would suit our narrative admirably ; after having quitted Puteni, Sinuhit would have plunged into the desert, towards the north-east, and would have lost himself in the sands in his endeavour to reach Qimoîri.

Beyond this point he entered the country of Edimâ or Edumâ, in which Chabas has recognised the land of Edom (*Les Papyrus de Berlin*, pp. 39, 75, 76). The scribe states expressly that it was a canton of the Upper Tonu. Tonu accordingly must enclose at least the district between the Dead Sea and the Sinaitic Peninsula. The prince of Tonu gives the Egyptian hero a very rich district, Aâa, or better Aïa, the name of which denoted a species of plant, and recalls that of Aïan, Æan, given by the geographers of the classical epoch to the cantons bordering on the Gulf of Akabah. Sinuhit remained there some years in the company of the nomad archers or Sittiu; on his return to Egypt, he was received by the Egyptian garrison at the frontier station of Hriu-horu, "the roads of Horus," that is to say, of Pharaoh, who was identified with Horus: where this locality was I cannot say.

Five years of labour have allowed me to transcribe and translate this difficult text. I believe that the narrative portion of it may be considered as entirely explained in almost every word. The petitions, letters, and discourses with which the story is filled, still present considerable difficulties. Many details will doubtless have to be modified in the approaching future.

## THE ADVENTURES OF SINUHIT (TWELFTH DYNASTY)

THE hereditary prince, the man of the king in his quality of sole Friend,<sup>1</sup> the jackal who makes the round of the frontiers to guard the country, the sovereign of the country of the SITTU, the veritable cousin of the king who loves his lord,<sup>2</sup> the servant Sinuhit says :

As for me, I am the servant of his master, the slave of the king, the superintendent of the palace, the hereditary prince honoured with the favour of the queen Usirtasen, one of the intimates<sup>3</sup> of the royal son Amenemhât, in his residence. In the year XXX, the 2d month of Shaït, the 7th (day), the god entered his double horizon, the king Shotphitrî ascended to heaven,<sup>4</sup> and when he had united himself with the solar disk the gods rejoiced at the event. Within the palace there was nothing but distressed and mourning people ; the great gates were sealed ; the courtiers

<sup>1</sup> The Friends occupied the highest posts in the court of the Pharaoh ; in the Papyrus Hood of the British Museum they are placed in the seventh grade after the king. They were divided into several groups : the "sole Friends," the "Friends of the Seraglio," the "golden Friends," and the "young," whose exact position cannot be determined. The title continued to be used in the court of the Ptolemies, and spread throughout the Macedonian world (see Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, ii, pp. 20, 21).

<sup>2</sup> This introduction includes among the ordinary Egyptian titles that of "sovereign of the country of the SITTU," or nomad archers of the Sinaitic Peninsula and the adjoining desert. Sinuhit had been chief of a tribe among them, and even after his return to Egypt, continued to bear the title at the court of the Pharaoh. The fact is a new one, which deserves to be noted by Egyptologists.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "he who is among those who join the dwelling-house with the royal son," that is to say, one of those who have the right of living in the same house as the royal son.

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, "died."

sat crouching in sign of mourning, the men were overcome by dolour and silence. Now his majesty had despatched an army to the country of the TIMIHU;<sup>1</sup> his eldest son Usirtasen commanded it, forcefully he marched, he took prisoners alive among the TIMIHU as well as all their innumerable cattle. The Friends of the Seraglio sent people to the region of the west to inform the new king of the regency which had befallen them unexpectedly in the Palace.<sup>2</sup> The messengers found him and reached him at nightfall; whereas running was not sufficiently rapid, the Hawk flew with his servants<sup>3</sup> without informing the army, and as all the royal sons who were in the army were in the field, none of them was summoned. Now as for me, I was there, I heard the words which He uttered on this matter, and I felt myself sinking; my heart palpitated, my arms drooped, the fear of the king smote all my limbs; I wondered as I crept along where I could find a place wherein to hide myself;<sup>4</sup> I flung myself into the midst of the thickets to wait (there) until they<sup>5</sup> had passed. Then I turned towards the south, not with the wish of reaching the palace, for I did not know whether war had broken out,<sup>6</sup> and without even pronouncing a wish to live after the (former) sovereign, I turned my back on the (Canton of the) Sycomore. I reached SHI-SNOFRU and passed the night there on the soil of the field. I started again at daybreak and joined a man who was standing in the

<sup>1</sup> The Berber tribes inhabiting the Libyan desert, to the west of Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> On the death of the king, the Friends of the Seraglio had to undertake the duties of a regency during the absence of the heir.

<sup>3</sup> "The hawk who flies" is, according to Egyptian idiom, the new king, identified with the hawk-god Haroiri, "Horus the elder," or Har-si-isit, "Horus the son of Isis."

<sup>4</sup> Sinuhit avoids telling us by what accident he found himself in a position to hear, unlike every one else, the news which the messenger had brought to the new king. We do not know whether the Egyptian law decreed death to the wretch who had committed such an act of indiscretion, even though it might have been involuntary; all we know is that Sinuhit feared for his life and determined upon flight.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the king and his attendants.

<sup>6</sup> This passage must allude to a civil war. In Egypt, as in all Oriental countries, a change of ruler often brings with it a revolt; the princes who have not been chosen to succeed their father taking up arms against their more fortunate brother.

middle of the road ; he implored my mercy, for he was afraid of me. Towards supper-time I approached the city of KHRI-AHU,<sup>1</sup> and crossed the water on a barge without a rudder. I quitted the country of the west and passed over the eastern territory of IAUKU to the domain of the goddess HIRIT the mistress of the Red Mountain;<sup>2</sup> then I proceeded on foot straight towards the north, and I reached the walls of the prince, which he has constructed to repel the SITTIU and to destroy the NOMIU-SHAIU ; I remained in a crouching posture among the bushes, for fear of being seen by the guard, relieved each day, which keeps watch from the summit of the fortress. I proceeded on my way at nightfall, and at dawn I reached PUTENI and directed my steps to the Wady of QIMOÎRI.<sup>3</sup> Then thirst fell and darted upon me ; my throat rattled and contracted and I already said to myself : "It is the taste of death," when I rallied my heart and recalled my strength ; I heard afar the lowing of cattle. A SITTI perceived me and recognised from my appearance that I came from EGYPT. Behold he gave me water and boiled some milk for me ; I went with him to his tribe. They wished to give me a territory out of their territory, but I departed at once and hurried to the country of EDIMÂ.<sup>4</sup>

When I had passed a year there, Amu-ânshi<sup>5</sup>—he is the prince of the Upper TONU—bade me come and he said to me : "Dwell with me ; thou shalt hear the language of EGYPT." He said this because he knew my worth and had heard of my merits, according to the testimony given of me by the Egyptians who were in the country.<sup>6</sup> This is what he said to me : "What is the reason on account of which thou art come hither ? Is it that there has been a death in the palace of the king of the two EGYPTS, even of

<sup>1</sup> Babylon, now Old Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> [The Gebel Ahhmar, eastward of Cairo.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> For the position of Qimolri, see the Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Edom.

<sup>5</sup> [The first part of the name is probably to be identified with the Hebrew *âyom*, "terrible," whence the name of the Emim (Gen. xiv. 5 ; Deut. ii. 11), the second part of the name being perhaps *'anash*, "to punish" or "fine."—*Ed.*]

<sup>6</sup> Probably refugees from Egypt, like Sinuhit himself.

Shotphîtrî,<sup>1</sup> without our having known what has passed on this occasion?" I began to celebrate the king in a poetical effusion: "When I came from the country of the TIMIHU and my heart found for itself a new home, if I failed,<sup>2</sup> it was not remorse for a fault which sent me on the paths of a fugitive; I had not been negligent, my mouth had uttered no biting speech, I had listened to no perverse counsel, my name had not been heard in the mouth of the magistrate. I know not how I can explain what has led me into this country; it is as it were by the will of God, for ever since the time when this land of EGYPT was as it were in ignorance of this beneficent god [the king] the fear of whom is spread among foreign nations, like SOKHIT<sup>3</sup> in a year of pestilence, I have declared to him my thought and replied to him: Save us!<sup>4</sup> Behold now his son enters the palace in his place and has undertaken the direction of the affairs of his father. He is a god who verily has no second; none is before him. He is a master of wisdom, prudent in his designs, beneficent in his disposition, at whose good pleasure one goes and comes, for by his ability he subdues foreign regions, and even when his father was still

<sup>1</sup> The question of the prince of Tonu, designedly somewhat obscure, was quite natural, since we know that Amenemhât I had fallen a victim to a palace conspiracy. Amu-ânshi asks if Sinuhit has not been implicated in some attempt of the kind and has in consequence been compelled to fly from Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> The text is so mutilated here that I cannot guarantee the sense. The part of the phrase which I translate "and my heart found for itself a new home" signifies literally "my heart was renewed there for me." The heart of Sinuhit was Egyptian; by renewing itself it made him an Asiatic in the land of Tonu. Further on the hero is regarded as a Sitti.

<sup>3</sup> Sokhit or Sokhmit, long confounded with Pakhit, was one of the chief goddesses of the Egyptian Pantheon. She belonged to the triad of Memphis and was entitled "the great friend of Phtah." She was a lion or a goddess with the head of a lion; with the head of a cat she was called Bastit and was adored at Bubastis.

<sup>4</sup> Sinuhit here answers the question of the prince of Tonu, as to whether his exile was not due to complicity in a plot against the life of the king. His flight was a fatality and he had served his sovereign from the period when he had not yet been recognised by all Egypt, and had prayed him to save his unhappy country, distracted by civil war, as we learn from other documents. Then the better to prove that he could never have mixed in any plot, he plunges into an eulogy of the new Pharaoh Usirtasen I. The exaggeration of the eulogy becomes a proof of loyalty and innocence.

in the interior of his palace, it was he who realised what his father had determined should be accomplished. He is a hero who verily works with his sword, a champion who has no rival; we see in him one who rushes against the barbarians and bursts upon the pillagers. He is a hurler of the javelin who makes feeble the hands of the enemy; those whom he strikes can no longer lift the buckler. He is a fearless (hero) who crushes the skulls (of his foes); none has stood before him. He is a rapid runner who destroys the coward; none is able to run after him. He is a heart resolute in its season. He is a lion who strikes with the claw; never has he surrendered his arms. He is a heart closed to pity; when he sees the multitudes he lets nothing remain behind him. He is a hero who flings himself forward when he sees resistance, he is a soldier who rejoices when he flings himself on the barbarians; he seizes his buckler, he leaps, he has never had need to repeat his blow, he slays without its being possible to turn aside his lance, and even without his stretching his bow, the barbarians fly his two arms like greyhounds, for the great goddess<sup>1</sup> has granted unto him to combat those who know not his name, and if he attains (the prey) he lets nothing remain. He is a favourite who has known marvellously how to acquire love; his country loves him more than itself and rejoices in him more than in its own god; men and women hasten at his summons. As king he governs since he was in the egg;<sup>2</sup> he himself, since his birth, is a multiplier of births, he is also an unique being, of the divine essence, by whom this earth rejoices at being governed. He is an enlarger of frontiers who will take the lands of the south, but covets not the lands of the north; on the contrary, he has acted against the chiefs of the SIRTU and to destroy the NOMIU-SHÂIU.<sup>3</sup> Should he come here, let him know thy name by the homage thou wilt address to his majesty!

<sup>1</sup> One of the titles given to Sokhit in her warlike character.

<sup>2</sup> That is, since he was in the womb of his mother.

<sup>3</sup> The nomad population which inhabited the desert to the east of Egypt. They are elsewhere called Hriu-Shâiu, the "masters of the sands." The name of *Nomiu-Shâiu* appears to signify "one who is lord of the sands."



For does he not do good to the foreign country which obeys him?

The chief of TONU answered me : " May the government of EGYPT be fortunate, and may its prosperity be of long duration ! While thou art with me I will do good to thee ! " He set me above his children, marrying me to his eldest daughter, and he granted that I should choose for myself in his domain, among the best of what he possessed on the frontier of a neighbouring country. It is an excellent country ; AĪA is its name.<sup>1</sup> There are figs in it and grapes ; its wine is more plentiful than water ; abundant is the milk, numerous the olives and all the products of its trees ; there are corn and meal without limit and every kind of cattle. It was noble, indeed, what he conferred on me, when the prince came to invest me (with the government), appointing me tribal prince in the best part of his country. I had daily rations of bread and wine for each day, cooked meat, roast fowl, together with the game that I caught or that was placed before me, over and above what my dogs brought from the chase. Plenty of butter<sup>2</sup> was made for me and boiled milk of every sort. I passed many years (there) ; the children I had became strong, each ruling his tribe. When a traveller went and returned from the interior, he turned aside from his road to visit me, for I rendered services to all the world. I gave water to the thirsty, I set on his journey the traveller who had been hindered from passing by, I chastised the brigand. The SITTU<sup>3</sup> who departed afar to strike and to repel the princes of the foreign countries I commanded, and they marched, for the prince of TONU allowed that I should be during long years the general of

<sup>1</sup> For the locality see the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The word has been left blank in the manuscript of Berlin. Very probably it was illegible in the original papyrus, from which the copy of the story we now possess was made, the scribe having preferred to insert nothing rather than fill up the lacuna on his own authority. My restoration is suggested by the juxtaposition of the words : " boiled milk of every sort."

<sup>3</sup> Literally " the archers." It is the generic name given by the Egyptians to the nomad populations of Syria in opposition to the Montiu or agricultural population. [The latter were the Perizzites or " fellahin " of the Old Testament.—*Ed.*]

his soldiers. Every country towards which I marched, when I had made my invasion, they trembled on the pastures beside their wells; I seized their cattle, I removed their vassals and I carried away their slaves, I slaughtered their population;<sup>1</sup> (the country) lay at the mercy of my sword, my bow, my marches, my plans well-conceived and glorious for the heart of my prince. Thus he loved me when he knew my valour, making me chief of his children, when he saw the vigour of my two arms.

A hero of TONU came to defy me in my tent; it was a hero who had no rivals, for he had destroyed them all. He exclaimed: "Let Sinuhit combat with me, for he has not yet smitten me," and he flattered himself that he would take my cattle for the use of his tribe. The prince deliberated thereupon with me. I said: "I know him not. Certainly I am not his brother, I keep myself at a distance from his abode; have I ever opened his door or cleared his fences? He is some jealous fellow who is envious at seeing me and who fancies himself summoned to despoil me of cats, of she-goats as well as of cows, and to throw himself on my bulls, on my sheep, and on my oxen, in order to take them for himself. If he is a wretch who thinks of enriching himself at my expense, not a Beduin and a Beduin skilled in fighting, then let him manage the matter with judgment! But if he is a bull who loves the battle, a choice bull who loves ever to have the last word, if he has the heart to fight, let him declare the intention of his heart! Will God forget any one whom he has always favoured until now? It is as if the challenger were already among those who are laid on the funeral couch!" I strung my bow, I took out my arrows, I agitated my dagger, I furbished up my arms. At dawn, the country of TONU came together; it had collected its tribes, (and) convoked all the foreign lands which were dependent on it; it desired this combat. Each heart burned for me, men and women shouted "Ah!" for every heart

<sup>1</sup> These are the phrases used in the official reports to describe the ravages of the wars carried on by the Pharaohs. Usirtasen III says similarly: "I have taken their women, I have removed their vassals, manifesting myself towards their wells, chasing before me their cattle, devastating their houses and setting them on fire."

was anxious on my account, and they said : " Is it really a strong man that is going to fight with him ? See, his adversary has a buckler, a battle-axe, an armful of javelins." When I had gone forth, and he had appeared, I turned his darts aside from me.<sup>1</sup> As not a single one hit (me), he flung himself upon me, and then I discharged my bow at him, when my dart buried itself in his neck, he cried and struck himself on the nose ; I caused his lance to fall, I lifted up my shout of victory over his back. While all the people rejoiced, I caused his vassals whom he had oppressed to show their gratitude to MONTU<sup>2</sup> in deed. The prince Ammi-ânshi<sup>3</sup> gave me all that the conquered one possessed, and then I carried away his goods, I took his cattle ; that which he desired to make me do I made him do ; I seized what there was in his tent, I despoiled his abode ; so that the riches of my treasures increased and the number of my cattle.

Now behold what God has done for me who have trusted in him. He who had deserted and fled to a foreign land, now each day his heart is joyous. I saved myself by flight from the place where I was, and now good testimony is rendered to me here. After I had fainted, dying of hunger, now I give bread here where I am. I had quitted my country naked and behold I am clothed in fine linen. After having been a fugitive without servants, behold I possess numerous serfs. My house is beautiful, my domain large, my memory is established in the temple of all the gods.<sup>4</sup> And nevertheless I take refuge always in thy good-

<sup>1</sup> The buckler was held with the left hand in front of the body which it was destined to protect, and presented up at any arrow, lance, or javelin which was directed against it.

<sup>2</sup> Montu was the god of war at Thebes. He was adored at Hermonthis (now Erment) in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the Greeks identified him with Apollo ; he was in fact a solar deity, and the monuments frequently confound him with Ra the Sun-god.

<sup>3</sup> The final *i* is given in the papyrus, like the final *u* above.

<sup>4</sup> The Egyptians of high rank obtained from the king, by special decree, permission to place in the temples statues representing themselves ; they could also have a stele erected in certain celebrated sanctuaries containing their names and a prayer. This is what was meant by saying that the deceased was assured of an " excellent memorial " in the temples of the gods.

ness (?): restore me to EGYPT,<sup>1</sup> grant me the favour of once more seeing in the flesh the place where my heart passes its time! Is there any objection to my corpse reposing in the country where I was born? To return there is happiness. I have given good things to God, doing that as suitable to consolidate . . . The heart of him suffers who is saved to live in a foreign land: is there an every-day for him? As for him, he hears the distant prayer, and he starts, directing his course towards the country where he has trodden the earth for the first time, towards the place from whence he is come. I was once at peace with the king of EGYPT, I lived on his gifts, I performed my duties towards the "Regent of the Earth"<sup>2</sup> who is in his palace, I listened to the conversation of his children; ah! the youthful vigour of my limbs was his! Now old age comes, feebleness has attacked me, my two eyes no longer recall what they see, my two arms droop heavily, my two legs refuse their service, the heart ceases (to beat): death approaches me, soon shall I be borne away to the eternal cities,<sup>3</sup> I shall follow thither the Universal Master;<sup>4</sup> ah, may he describe to me the beauties of his children and bring eternity unto me!

Then the majesty of king Khopirkeri,<sup>5</sup> of the true voice,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is the king whom Sinuhit now begins to address.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the queen, but more probably the royal *uraeus* serpent worn on the forehead by the king, which was supposed to think and fight for him. It inspired him with its counsels and during the battle destroyed the enemy with the flame that issued from its mouth.

<sup>3</sup> That is the tomb, also called the "eternal house."

<sup>4</sup> Osiris, whom every dead Egyptian served and followed. The text seems to refer to a feminine "Eternal Mistress," and it is possible that a female Osiris is intended. We know too little about the religion of the period for me to guarantee the exactitude of my translation.

<sup>5</sup> The *prænomén* of Usirtasen I. the son and successor of Amenem-hât I.

<sup>6</sup> The Egyptians, like all oriental peoples, attached a great importance not only to the words which composed their religious formulæ, but also to the intonation given to each of them. For a prayer to be of avail and to exercise its full effect upon the gods, it was necessary that it should be recited in the traditional cadence. Accordingly the highest praise which could be bestowed on a person obliged to recite an orison, was to call him *mâ-khrôu* "correct of voice," to say that he had a "correctly-modulated voice" and knew the tone to be given to each phrase. The king or priest who filled the office of reader (*khri-habi*) during the sacrifice was termed *mâ-khrôu*. The gods triumphed over evil by the "correctness of their voice" when

spoke to the officer who was near him. His majesty sent a message to me with presents on the part of the king, and filled me with joy, even me who speak to you, like the princes of every foreign land; and the Children<sup>1</sup> who are in his palace made me listen to their conversation.

Copy of the order which was brought to me who speak to you to restore me to EGYPT.

"The Horus, whose births are life, the master of diadems, whose births are life, the king of Upper and Lower EGYPT, Khopirkerî, the son of the Sun, Amenemhât,<sup>2</sup> living for ever and ever!

"Order for the servant Sinuhit. This order of the king is brought to thee to inform thee of his will.

"Now that thou hast traversed the foreign countries, from EDIMÂ to TONU, passing from country to country according to the wish of thy heart, behold, whatever thou hast done and has been done against thee, thou dost not break forth into blasphemies, but if thy word is repulsed, thou dost not speak in the assembly of the Young,<sup>3</sup> even if invited to do so. Now, then, that thou hast carried out this project which came into thy mind, let not thy heart vacillate any longer, for Pharaoh is thy heaven unto thee, he is stable, he is prosperous, his head is exalted among the royalties

they pronounced the words destined to render the evil spirits powerless. The dead man, who passed the whole of his funerary existence in reciting incantations, was the *mâ-khrôn* par excellence. The phrase ended by becoming a laudatory epithet which was always added to the names of the defunct and of every one in the past who was spoken of with affection.

<sup>1</sup> The "Children" are either the children of the reigning king or of one of his predecessors; they were ranked in the Egyptian hierarchy immediately after the king, the regents, the queen, and the queen-mother (see Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, ii. pp. 14, 15).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the king is formed from the *praenomen* (Khopirkerî) of Usirtasen I. and the name of Amenemhât II.

<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian word properly signifies "a young man," and represented one of the degrees of the hierarchy of the court. Perhaps it was peculiar to the age of the twelfth dynasty, as I have not found it in the Papyrus Hood of the British Museum which has acquainted us with the hierarchy of Egyptian society in the time of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. We shall see further on that the "Young" were a subdivision of the "Royal Friends."

of the earth, his children are in the hidden part of the palace.<sup>1</sup>

“Leave the riches which thou hast for thyself and with thee, all of them! when thou hast arrived in EGYPT, behold the palace, and when thou shalt be in the palace, prostrate thyself with thy face to the ground before the Sublime Porte. Thou shalt be master among the Friends (of the king). And from day to day, behold, thou art [ever] growing older; thou hast lost the strength of manhood, thou hast dreamed of the day of burial. Behold thyself arrived at the state of beatitude; on the night whereon the oils of embalming are applied, there are given to thee the bandages by the hand of the goddess TAÏT.<sup>2</sup> Thy funeral is followed on the day of burial, the mummy case gilded, its head painted blue,<sup>3</sup> a canopy above thee of cypress-wood;<sup>4</sup> oxen draw thee, singers go before thee, and the funeral dances are performed for thee, mourners sit crouching at the entrance to thy tomb, the prescribed offerings are presented to thee with loud voice, victims are slain for thee on thy tables of offering, and thy steles are erected of white stone, in the circle of the royal children. Thou hast no rival; no man of the people reaches thy high rank; thou art not laid in a sheep’s skin when thou art entombed;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the order is so obscure that I cannot guarantee my translation. I believe it means that the king declares himself satisfied with the tone of Sinuhit’s letter and with the temper it betrays.

<sup>2</sup> This name signifies literally “linen, bandages;” the goddess presided over the swaddling of an infant and the enshrouding of the deceased. The ceremonies here alluded to are described in a special treatise which I have published and translated under the title of *Rituel de l’Embaumement* (in my *Mémoire sur quelques Papyrus du Louvre*).

<sup>3</sup> The mummy cases of the eleventh and following dynasties now in the Louvre are completely gilded, with the exception of the human face, which is painted red, and the head dress, which is painted blue.

<sup>4</sup> The mummy was laid on a funerary bed surmounted by a wooden canopy during the ceremonies of interment. Rhind discovered one at Thebes which is now at Edinburgh. I myself have discovered three, one at Thebes of the thirteenth dynasty, another of the twentieth dynasty also at Thebes, and a third at Akhmim of the Ptolemaic epoch. These are all in the Boulaq Museum, which further possesses two sledges with canopies of the twentieth dynasty, disinterred at Thebes in 1866 in the tomb of Sonozmu. They are the sort which was drawn to the tomb by bulls.

<sup>5</sup> We know from Herodotus (II. 81) that the Egyptians did not like to put wool with their dead; we know also that nevertheless a sheep’s skin

every one strikes the earth and laments over thy corpse while thou goest to the grave."

When this order reached me, I was standing in the middle of my tribe. When it was handed to me, having thrown myself on the stomach I lay upon the ground, I crawled upon my breast,<sup>1</sup> and so I made the circuit of my tent to mark the joy which I felt at receiving it: "How can it be that such an event can have happened to me, even to me who am here present, who, of a rebellious heart, have fled to foreign countries, hostile to Pharaoh? Now—deliverance excellent and lasting—I am delivered from death and thou wilt make me powerful in my own country!"

Copy of the answer made to this order by the  
lord Sinuhit:—

"O pardon (?) great and unheard-of for the flight which I took, even I here present, as one who knows not what he does, which thou accordedst unto me, even thou, the good god, friend of the god RA, favourite of the god MONTU (?) lord of THEBES and of the god AMON lord of KARNAK, son of the god RA, image of the god TUMU<sup>2</sup> and of his cycle of gods, may SUPTU,<sup>3</sup> may the god NOFIR-BIU,<sup>4</sup> may the

was occasionally employed at burials, and one of the mummies from Der el-Bahari (No. 5289) was enveloped in a white skin still covered with its fleece (Maspero, *Les momies royales* in the *Mémoires présentés par les Membres de la Mission permanente*, i. p. 548). As the mummy is that of an unknown prince who seems to have been poisoned, we may ask whether the sheep's skin was not reserved for criminals or prisoners condemned to remain impure even in the grave. If so, we can understand the place assigned to the sheep's skin in the royal Order.

<sup>1</sup> *Son-to*, literally "to smell the earth," the necessary accompaniment or every royal audience or divine offering.

<sup>2</sup> Tumu or Atumu was the god of Heliopolis, the On of Gen. xli. 50, and chief of the divine Ennead, who had created and preserved the world.

<sup>3</sup> A form of Horus. He was the god adored in the Arabian nome of Egypt, sometimes represented as a man crowned with the solar disk and bearing the title of "the most noble of the Souls of Heliopolis." He must not be confounded with the goddess Soptit, the Greek Sothis, who represented the most brilliant constellation of the Egyptian sky.

<sup>4</sup> "He whose souls are good," a form of the god Tumu, better known as Nofir-tumu.

divine Firstborn,<sup>1</sup> may HORUS of the Orient,<sup>2</sup> may the royal Uræus who is lord of thy head, the chiefs who are on the basin of the West,<sup>3</sup> HORUS who resides in foreign countries,<sup>4</sup> URRIT the mistress of ARABIA,<sup>5</sup> NUIT,<sup>6</sup> HORUS the elder,<sup>7</sup> (and) RA, may all the gods of the Delta and the isles of the Great Green<sup>8</sup> grant life and force to thy nostrils; may they give reins to their liberality and grant thee time without limit, eternity without measure, spreading the fear of thee throughout all the countries of the plain and the mountain, fettering for thee all the course of the sun! It is the prayer which I here present make for my lord, delivered as I am from the foreign land!

"O sage king, the sage word which the majesty of the sovereign has pronounced in his sageness, I who am here present, I fear to utter it, and it is a momentous matter to repeat it. For the mighty god, image of RA in (his) wisdom, he has himself laid his hand to the work, and I

<sup>1</sup> A form of Horus. Egyptian trinities consisted generally of a father, a mother, and a son. In the divine family the son was heir presumptive, like the firstborn son in the family of the Pharaoh.

<sup>2</sup> Often confounded with Suptu, and often also with the god Minu. He reigned over the deserts which extend eastward of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea.

<sup>3</sup> The portion of the celestial waters which the bark of the gods reaches at sunset. The chiefs of the basin were the gods who presided over this mythic ocean, the gods of the dead. Every Egyptian was supposed after death to journey to Abydos and penetrate through a cleft westward of the city into the "basin of the West," where he joined the escort of the nocturnal sun in order to traverse Hades and be born again the next morning in the East.

<sup>4</sup> Properly speaking, the god of the Libyans, but regarded more generally as the god of all the foreign nations which bordered on Egypt.

<sup>5</sup> The name of Urrit occurs only here. Her title seems to show that she was a secondary form of Hâthor, whom different traditions of great antiquity spoke of as coming from Arabia.

<sup>6</sup> The goddess of the sky. With Sibû, the god of the earth, she formed a divine couple, one of the most ancient among the divine couples of the Egyptian religion, which could not be reduced to a solar type by the theologians of the great Theban school in the age of the Ramessids. Nuit is represented as bent over the body of her husband and figuring by the curve of her own body the vault of the sky.

<sup>7</sup> Harôirû, whence the Greek Aroëris, god of Heaven, and afterwards a solar deity like Ra, not to be confounded with Horus the younger, the son of Isis and Osiris.

<sup>8</sup> That is "the sea," sometimes the Red Sea, more usually the Mediterranean.



here present, I am of the number of the subjects whereon he has deliberated, and I have been placed under his direct inspection! ... Verily thy majesty is a HORUS,<sup>1</sup> and the power of thine arms extends over all lands!

"Now, then, let thy majesty cause Mâki of EDIMÂ, Khonti-âush of KHONTI-KAUSHU,<sup>2</sup> MONU'S of the subjugated countries,<sup>3</sup> to be brought: they are princes ready to testify that all has happened according to thy wish, and that TONU has not growled against thee within itself after the fashion of thy greyhounds. For as to me who speak to you, my flight, if it has been voluntary, was not premeditated; far from plotting it, I could not tear myself from the spot where I was; it was like a trance, like the dream of a man of ATHU who sees himself at ABU,<sup>4</sup> of a man of the plain of EGYPT who sees himself in the mountain.<sup>5</sup> I dreaded nothing; there was no pursuit after me, my name had never been in the mouth of the herald up to the moment when fate assailed me, but then my legs darted forward, my heart guided me, the divine will which had destined me to this exile led me along. I had not carried my back high, for the individual fears when the country knows its master, and RA had granted that thy

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian monarch was the incarnation of the deity, and was consequently identified with the third person of the Egyptian trinity.

<sup>2</sup> *Khonti-Kaushu* properly signifies "he who is in Kaushu" (or Kush), and hence denotes a native of Ethiopia. The neighbourhood of Edimâ, however, rather indicates here some Syrian locality. [Compare the application of the term "Ethiopian" or "Kushite" to the Midianite wife of Moses in Numbers xii.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> Rendered "the country of the Phœnicians" by Brugsch and others. Without entering into the question whether the Egyptian word Fonkhu really denotes Phœnicia, it is sufficient to say that the word is not really met with in this passage. But I do not know what region is intended by the phrase.

<sup>4</sup> Abu was the Egyptian name of Elephantinë, opposite Assuân, Athu that of a district in the Delta. The two places, like Dan and Beersheba in the Old Testament, proverbially indicated the whole length of Egypt. The difference between a Northern and Southern Egyptian extended not only to manners but even to dialect, so that the unintelligible language of a bad writer is compared to the conversation of a man of Abu who finds himself at Athu.

<sup>5</sup> Literally "in the land of Khonti." In opposition to the *K'ha-to* or cultivated plain of the Nile, it must denote the sterile cliffs on either side of the valley.

terror should be over the foreign land. Behold me now in my own country, behold me in this place. Thou art the vesture of this place;<sup>1</sup> the sun rises at thy pleasure; the water of the canals irrigates him who pleases thee; the breeze of heaven refreshes him whom thou addresseth. As for me who speak to thee, I will bequeath my goods to the generations which I have begotten in this place. And as to the messenger who is come unto me, let thy majesty do as it hears; for we live on the air thou givest; thine august nostril is the love of RA, of HORUS (and) of HATHOR, it is the will of MONTU master of THEBES that thou livest eternally."

I celebrated a festival in AĪA to hand over my property to my children: my eldest son was chief of my tribe, all my property passed to him, and I gave away all my cattle as well as my plantations of every species of fruit-tree. When I travelled towards the south and arrived at HRIU-HOR, the governor, who was there at the head of the garrison, despatched a messenger to the palace to give information of the fact. His majesty sent the excellent superintendent of the peasants of the king and, with him, a ship laden with presents from the king for the SITIU who came in my train to conduct me to HRIU-HOR. I addressed by his name each of those who were there; as there were servants of every kind, I received and could carry with me means of subsistence and clothing sufficient to last me until I arrived at an estate belonging to me.

When the earth revealed itself the following morning, each of them came to salute me, each of them departed. I had a prosperous journey as far as the palace; the introducers struck the ground with their foreheads before me, the [royal] Children stood in the hall to conduct me, the Friends who betook themselves to the hall of audience for the march-past set me on the way to the Royal Lodge. I found his majesty on the great platform in the Hall of Silver-gilt;<sup>2</sup> when I entered towards it, I sank on my

<sup>1</sup> Such curious metaphors are common in Egyptian literature.

<sup>2</sup> The hall probably derived its name from its ornamentation with electrum or pale gold.

stomach, I lost consciousness of myself in his presence. The god addressed me with kindly words, but I was like a person suddenly blinded, my tongue failed, my limbs fainted, my heart was no longer in my breast, and I knew what is the difference between life and death. His majesty said to one of the Friends: "Let him be raised and speak to me!" His majesty said: "So then thou art returned! In hanging about foreign lands and playing the fugitive, age has attacked thee, thou hast reached old age, thy body is not a little worn out. Dost thou not rise? Art thou become a *Sirtti* in duplicity, for thou dost not answer? Declare thy name." I feared to refuse, and replied thus in answer: "I am afraid; nevertheless to that which my master has asked me, this is what I reply: I have not called upon myself the hand of God, but it is fear, yea, fear which seized my heart so that I took the fatal flight.<sup>1</sup> Now, behold me again before thee; thou art life; let thy majesty do what he will!"

The march-past of the Children ended, his majesty said to the queen: "This is Sinuhit who comes like a rustic with the appearance of a *Sirtti*." The Children burst into a loud shout of laughter all together and said before his majesty: "It is not he in truth, O sovereign, my master!" His majesty said: "It is he in truth." Then they took their necklaces, their wands of office, their *sistra*,<sup>2</sup> and after they had brought them to his majesty [they said]: "May thy two hands prosper, O king! Put on the adornments of the Mistress of Heaven,<sup>3</sup> offer the emblem of life to my

<sup>1</sup> Sinuhit protests his innocence more than once. We have seen already that the circumstances connected with his flight gave reason for a suspicion that he was concerned in a plot against the king. Moreover, the treaty between Ramses II and the prince of the Hittites shows with what care the Pharaoh endeavoured to recover those of his subjects who had deserted to the foreigner. Hence the repeated attempts of Sinuhit to clear himself.

<sup>2</sup> The ceremonial of the Pharaoh's court included songs prescribed beforehand as in the court of the Byzantine emperors. The Children having saluted the king, commence this part of the ceremonial; they resume their ornaments, which had been laid aside before the march-past and the adoration of the king, and along with their ornaments the *sistrum* on which they accompanied their song.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to mean, act with clemency. Several divinities bore the title of Mistress of Heaven.

nose. Be powerful as master of the stars, traverse the firmament in the celestial bark; satiety is the image of the mouth of thy majesty.<sup>1</sup> Thou art set with the uræuserpent on thy brow, and the wicked are scattered from thee; thou art proclaimed RA, master of the two countries,<sup>2</sup> and men cry unto thee as unto the master of the universe. Thy lance overthrows, thy arrow destroys. Grant that he may live who is in annihilation! Grant us to breathe at our ease in the good way where we are! Simihit,<sup>3</sup> the SITI born in TO-MIRI, if he has fled, it was from fear of thee; if he has gone far from his country, it was from terror of thee; does not the face grow pale which sees thy face? does not the eye fear which thou hast arrested?" The king said: "Let him fear no longer, let him dismiss (all) terror! He shall be among the Friends of the order of the Young, and let him be placed among those of the Circle<sup>4</sup> who are admitted into the Royal Lodge. Let orders be given that he be provided with an appanage!"

I went out towards him in the interior of the Royal Lodge, and the Children gave me their hands, while we walked behind the P-ruti doubly great.<sup>5</sup> I was placed in the house of the Royal Son, where there were riches, where there was a kiosk for taking the fresh air, where there were

<sup>1</sup> This apparently signifies that the king is sated with all good things, and consequently the equal of the gods, who never suffer from hunger. In fact, he is the god himself, and as such traverses the waters of the sky in his bark, like the Sun-god, and sums up in himself all the powers of the solar deities.

<sup>2</sup> [Upper and Lower Egypt.—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> This variant of the name of Sinuhit, due to the caprice of the scribe, signifies literally "the son of the North." Sinuhit is called "the Sitti" on account of his long sojourn among the Beduin. *To-miri*, "the land of the canals," was a name of the Delta which was also applied to the whole of Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> Persons attached to the court of the Pharaoh received two collective titles, that of *Shonitiu*, or "people of the Circle," who surrounded the sovereign, and that of *Qabitiu*, or "people of the Angle," perhaps those who stood in the angles of the hall of audience.

<sup>5</sup> The *Ruti*, or with the article P-ruti, is like *Pirui-âa*, "Pharaoh," a topographical name which first denoted the palace of the monarch and then the monarch himself. It is from this title that the Greek legend of Proteus king of Egypt was derived, who received Helen and Paris and Menelaos at his court (Herodot. ii. 112-116).

divine decorations and mandates on the treasury for silver, vestments of royal materials, for royal gums and essences, such as the young like to have in every house, as well as every sort of artisan in numbers. As the years had passed over my limbs and I had lost my hair, I was given what came from foreign lands, and the materials of the NOMIUSHÁIU; I arrayed myself in fine linen, I bedewed myself with essences, I lay on a bed, I was given cakes to eat and oil wherewith to anoint myself. I was given a whole house suitable for one who is among the Friends; I had plenty of materials for building it, all its timbers were repaired and fruits of the palace were brought to me three and four times a day, besides that which the children gave without ever an instant's cessation. A pyramid of stone was begun for me in the midst of the funerary pyramids,<sup>1</sup> the chief of the land surveyors of his majesty selected its site, the chief of the architects planned it, the chief of the stone-cutters sculptured it, the chief of the works which are executed in the necropolis traversed the land of EGYPT to obtain all the materials necessary for its decoration. When the necessary appointments had been made in the pyramid itself, I took peasants and made there a lake,<sup>2</sup> a kiosk,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The facts which are mentioned here and there in the sepulchral inscriptions are here united in a continuous narrative. Sinuhit receives from Usirtasen the supreme favour, a tomb built and endowed at the expense of the Pharaoh. The site is given to him gratuitously, the pyramid constructed, the funerary feasts instituted, the revenues and endowments intended for the support of the sacrifices are levied on the royal domains; finally, the statue itself which should sustain the double of Sinuhit is of precious metal.

<sup>2</sup> A lake, or rather a piece of water surrounded with a border of stone, was the indispensable ornament of every comfortable country-house. The ideal tomb being above all things the image of the terrestrial house care was taken to place in it a lake like the lake of a villa; the deceased sailed over it in a boat drawn by his slaves, or sat on its banks under the shade of its trees.

<sup>3</sup> The kiosk was, like the lake, an indispensable adjunct of a garden. The bas-reliefs of Thebes represent it in the midst of trees, sometimes on the edge of the lake. Its construction was simple; a flooring raised two or three steps above the ground, four slender columns supporting a painted cornice and a slightly sloping roof, the sides open to admit the breeze, and a balustrade, breast-high, on three sides. The defunct came there like the living, to converse with his wife, to read stories or to play with the ladies.

(and) fields in the interior of the sepulchral domain,<sup>1</sup> as is the case with Friends of the first degree ; there was also a statue carved out of gold with a robe of electrum, and it was his majesty who bestowed it. It is not a common man for whom he has done so much, and in truth I enjoyed the favour of the king until the day of death.—[The history] is completed from the commencement to the end as has been found in the book.

<sup>1</sup> The fields of the sepulchral domain were the property of the deceased, and furnished him with all he required. Each of them produced a special object, or the revenue derived from them was devoted to procuring for the defunct a special object of food or clothing, and bore the name of the object in question ; that, for example, from which Ti derived his figs was called "the figs of Ti." The property was administered by the priests of the "double" or of the funereal statue, who were frequently the priests of the principal temple of the locality where the tomb was situated. The family made a contract with them, in accordance with which they engaged the necessary sacrifices for the well-being of the deceased in exchange for certain rents paid by the domains which were bequeathed to the tomb.

## THE LEGEND OF THE EXPULSION OF THE HYKSOS

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR MASPERO

THE story of the quarrel between the Shepherd-king Apôpi and Soqnun-rî the hereditary prince of Thebes, which eventually led to the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, is found, though unfortunately in a mutilated condition, in the first pages of the Papyrus Sallier I. The value of a historical document has long been attributed to it ; but its style, as well as the expressions and the general character of the subject, imply a romance, where the principal parts in the scene are played by persons who belong to real history, though the scene itself is almost entirely the offspring of the popular imagination.

Champollion thrice saw the papyrus in the hands of its original owner, M. Sallier of Aix in Provence, in 1828, some days before his departure for Egypt, and in 1830 on his return. The notes published by Salvolini prove that he had recognised, if not the exact nature of the story, at all events the historical significance of the royal names occurring in it. The manuscript, purchased in 1839 by the British

Museum, was published in facsimile (in 1841) in the *Select Papyri*, vol. i. pl. 1 *sqq.*; the notice by Hawkins, evidently compiled from information given by Birch, furnishes the name of the antagonist of Apophis, which had not been read by Champollion, but it attributes the cartouche of Apophis to king Phiops of the fifth dynasty. E. de Rougé was the first who actually understood the contents of the first pages of the papyrus. Already in 1847 he gave Soqnun-rî his true place in the list of the Pharaohs; in 1854 he pointed out the name of Hâuâru or Avaris in the fragment and inserted in the *Athénæum Français* 1854, p. 352, a fairly detailed analysis of the document. The discovery was popularised in Germany by Brugsch, who attempted to render the three first lines word for word (*Ägyptische Studien*, ii. 1854), then in England by Goodwin, who believed himself able to offer a complete translation of the papyrus ("Hieratic Papyri" in the *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, pp. 243-245). Since then, the text has been frequently studied, by Chabas (*Les Pasteurs en Égypte*, 1868), by Lushington (*Fragment of the first Sallier Papyrus* in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iv. pp. 263-266, reproduced in the first series of *Records of the Past*, vol. vii.), by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, 2d Edit., vol. i. pp. 274 *sqq.*), by Ebers (*Ägypten und die Bücher Moses*, 1868, pp. 204 *sqq.*). Goodwin, after mature examination, hesitatingly advanced the opinion that an accurate narrative indeed could not be found in it, but only a historical novel



(in the English translation of Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*, iv. p. 671). It is the opinion which I share, and which appears to have generally prevailed. The transcription and translation of the text and a commentary upon it are given in my *Études égyptiennes*, i. pp. 195-216; the translation alone is reproduced in my *Contes égyptiens*, 2d Edit., pp. 273-286.

I believe the existing fragments allow us to restore almost the whole of the first two pages. Perhaps the attempt at restoration which I propose will appear adventurous even to Egyptologists; at all events it will be seen that I have not undertaken it rashly. A minute analysis of the text has led me to the results which I here submit to criticism.

## THE LEGEND OF THE EXPULSION OF THE HYKSOS

It happened that the land of EGYPT belonged to the Impure,<sup>1</sup> and as there was no lord monarch that day, it happened then that the king Soqnun-rî<sup>2</sup> was sovereign over the country of the South, and that the Impure of the city of RA<sup>3</sup> were subject to Ra-Apôpi<sup>4</sup> in HÂUÂRU;<sup>5</sup> the entire country paid him tribute together with its manufactured products and so loaded him with all the good things of To-miri.<sup>6</sup> Now the king Ra-Apôpi took the god SUTEKHU for his master, and he no longer served any (other) deity who was in the whole country excepting only SUTEKHU, and he built a temple of excellent and imperishable workmanship at the gate of the king Ra-Apôpi, and he arose each day to sacrifice daily victims to SUTEKHU; and the vassal chiefs of the sovereign were there with garlands of flowers, just as is the case in the temple of Ph-Ra-Har-ma-

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the insulting epithets lavished by the resentment of the scribes on the Shepherds or Hyksos and the other foreigners who had occupied Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> This is the most probable pronunciation of the name usually and wrongly transcribed Ra-skenen. Three kings of Egypt bore this *praenomen*, two of the name of Tiu-âa and one of the name of Tiu-âa-qen, who reigned some years before Ahmosi the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> That is Heliopolis, the On of the North, the daughter of whose priest was married by Joseph.

<sup>4</sup> As it had been repeatedly advanced that Apôpi, being an Hyksos, could not possibly add the title of Ra to his name, I beg to state here that the dot which represents the cursive hieratic form of the disk is as perfectly legible in the original manuscript as it is in the facsimile.

<sup>5</sup> The Avaris of Manetho, the Egyptian fortress of the Shepherd-kings. E. de Rougé has shown that Avaris was one of the names of Tanis, the Zoan of the Old Testament.

<sup>6</sup> Lower Egypt.

khuti. And the king Ra-Apôpi bethought himself of sending a message to announce it to the king Soqnun-rî, the prince of the city of the South.<sup>1</sup> And many days after that, the king Ra-Apôpi summoned his great chiefs. . . .

[The text is interrupted here and begins again at the top of page 2 : when it recommences after an almost complete lacuna of five lines and a half we find phrases which evidently belong to the message of king Apôpi. Now numerous texts teach us that a message entrusted to a person is always repeated by him almost word for word ; we can therefore feel convinced that the two lines put into the mouth of the envoy on page 2, were already contained in the lost lines of page 1, and in fact, the small isolated fragment at the foot of the published facsimile contains the remains of characters which exactly correspond to the sentences of the message. This first version of the message, accordingly, was put into the mouth of the royal councillors ; but who were these councillors ? Were they the "great chiefs" who were summoned at the point where the text breaks off ? That is impossible, as in the fragments of line 7 mention is made of "the learned scribes," and in line 2 of page 2 it is expressly stated that Apôpi sent to Soqnun-rî the message "which his learned scribes had repeated to him." We must therefore admit that Apôpi, after consulting his civil and military chiefs, was counselled to apply to his scribes. The words of the latter begin at the end of line 7 with the customary exclamation : "O suzerain, our master !" In short, for the whole of this first part of the lacuna we have a consultation similar to that carried on afterwards at the court of Soqnun-rî, and in the story of the Two Brothers, when the Pharaoh desires to discover the owner of the curl which perfumed his linen. Consequently I continue the tale as follows :] And many days after that, the king Ra-Apôpi summoned his great chiefs, as well as his captains and his prudent generals, but they could not suggest to him a speech which was good to send to the king Soqnun-rî the chief of the country of the South. So the king Apôpi summoned his scribes versed in magic. They

<sup>1</sup> Thebes.

said to him : "O suzerain, our master." . . .<sup>1</sup> and they suggested to the king Ra-Apôpi the discourse which he desired : "Let a messenger go to the chief of the city of the South and say to him : The king Ra-Apôpi sends to say : Let the hippopotamuses which are in the canals of the country be chased on the pool, in order that they may allow sleep to visit me night and day. . . ."

[A line and a half, perhaps even more, still remains to be supplied. Here again, the sequel permits us to restore the sense, if not the letter, of what is wanting in the text. We see that after having received the message recounted above, king Soqnun-ri assembles his council, which is perplexed and at a loss for an answer ; whereupon king Apôpi sends a second embassy. It is evident that the embarrassment and silence of the Thebans were foreseen by the scribes of Apôpi, and that the part of their advice which is preserved at the top of page 2 contained the end of the second message which Apôpi was to send, if the first met with no reply. In similar stories, some extraordinary action is described which has to be performed by one of two kings ; the penalty is always stated to which he must submit in case of ill-success and the reward he will receive in case of success. There must have been a similar description in the Legend, and I therefore propose to restore the text as follows :]

He will not know what to answer, whether good or bad : then thou shalt send him another message : "The king Ra-Apôpi sends saying : If the chief of the South cannot answer my message, let him serve no other god than SUTEKHU ! But if he answers it, and does that which I bid him do,<sup>2</sup> then I will take nothing from him, and I will no more bow down before any other god of the land of EGYPT except AMON-RA the king of the gods !"

And many days after that, the king Ra-Apôpi sent to the prince of the country of the South the message which his scribes versed in magic had suggested to him ; and the messenger of the king Ra-Apôpi came to the chief of the

<sup>1</sup> This line must contain a compliment to the king.

<sup>2</sup> The part of the text which is preserved recommences here.

land of the South. He said to the messenger of the king Ra-Apôpi : " What message dost thou bring to the land of the South ? Why hast thou made this journey ? " The messenger replied : " The king Ra-Apôpi sends to say : Let the hippopotamuses which are in the canals of the country be chased on the pool, in order that they may allow sleep to visit me day and night. . . ." The chief of the land of the South was astounded and knew not what answer to make to the messenger of the king Ra-Apôpi. So the chief of the land of the South said to the messenger : " This is what thy master sends to . . . the chief of the land of the South . . . the words which he has sent me . . . his goods. . . ." The chief of the land of the South caused all kinds of good things, meats, cakes, . . . (and) wine to be given to the messenger ; then he said to him : " Return and tell thy master . . . all that which thou hast said, I approve. . . ." The messenger of the king Ra-Apôpi set himself to return to the place where his master was. Then the chief of the South summoned his great chiefs as well as his captains and his able generals, and he repeated to them all the message which the king Ra-Apôpi had sent to him. Then they were silent with a single mouth for a long moment (of time), and did not know what answer to make whether good or bad.

The king Ra-Apôpi sent to the chief of the land of the South the other message which his scribes versed in magic had suggested to him. . . .

[It is unfortunate that the text is broken just in this place. The three Pharaohs who bore the name of Soqnun-rî reigned during a troublous period and must have left enduring memories in the minds of the Theban people. They were active and warlike princes, and the last of them perished by a violent death, perhaps in battle against the Hyksos. He had shaved his beard the morning before, " arraying himself for the combat like the god MONTU," as the Egyptian scribes would say. His courage led him to penetrate too far into the ranks of the enemy ; he was surrounded and slain before his companions could rescue him. The blow of an axe removed part of his left cheek and laid

bare the teeth, striking the jaw and felling him stunned to the ground ; a second blow entered far within the skull, a dagger or short lance splitting the forehead on the right side a little above the eye. The Egyptians recovered the body and embalmed it in haste, when already partially decomposed, before sending it to Thebes and the tomb of his ancestors. The features of the mummy, now in the Museum of Boulaq, still show the violence and fury of the struggle ; a large white piece of brain is spread over the forehead, the retracted lips uncover the jaw and the tongue is bitten between the teeth.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Legend may probably have continued his story down to the tragic end of his hero. The scribe to whom we owe the papyrus on which it is inscribed must certainly have intended to complete the tale ; he had recopied the last lines on the reverse of one of the pages, and was preparing to continue it when some accident intervened to prevent his doing so. Perhaps the professor at whose dictation he appears to have written did not himself know the end of the Legend. It is probable, however, that it went on to describe how Soqnun-rî, after long hesitation, succeeded in escaping from the embarrassing dilemma in which his powerful rival had attempted to place him. His answer must have been as odd and extraordinary as the message of Apôpi, but we have no means even of conjecturing what it was.]

<sup>1</sup> Maspero : *Les Momies royales d'Égypte récemment mises au jour*, pp. 14, 15.

## THE STELE OF THOTHMES IV (OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)

TRANSLATED BY D. MALLET

THIS stele had been buried for ages, under the sand which again and again has covered the body of the Sphinx, when it was disinterred in 1818 by an Englishman, Captain Caviglia. Salt, who had taken part in his friend's excavations, gave a detailed account of the disinterment, and his narrative, preserved in MS. at the British Museum, has been published by Col. Vyse in the appendix to his work on the *Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh* (8vo, London 1842, vol. iii. pp. 107 *sqq.*) After uncovering all the hinder portion of the Sphinx, Caviglia found at the end of the long passage which lay between the paws, a small temple, ten feet in length by five in breadth, immediately below the chin of the figure. The extremity of it was occupied by a block of granite, fourteen feet in height, covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics recording the name of Thothmes IV; this block is the stele of which we are about to give a translation.

It was set up against the breast of the Sphinx,

without, however, actually touching it. The two walls, built along the paws at right angles to that at the end of the shrine, had been adorned with two other stelæ of smaller size and of limestone ; one of them, containing the name of Ramses II, was still *in situ* ; the other had fallen into the interior of the chapel among other masses of rubbish, in which fragments of the beard once attached to the chin of the figure, as in the case of all Egyptian figures of gods or kings, could still be recognised. A door opened between the two walls of lesser elevation which enclosed the shrine on the eastern side. Before the temple, a sort of paved court extended about three-fourths of the length of the paws, and was also enclosed by two walls separated from one another by a roofless opening before which was erected a square altar of granite.

Caviglia succeeded in uncovering the Sphinx as far as the base, over an area of more than one hundred feet. Unfortunately the sand of the desert soon recommenced its work, and later Lepsius, and subsequently the Duc de Luynes, had again to undertake the task of removing it at great expense in order to reach the curious stele of Thothmes IV. In 1880 Mariette undertook new and important excavations on the same spot. Like Caviglia, he brought to light the huge staircase of two stages which descends from the plateau of the desert and led the curious and the devout to the extremity of the shrine, where the colossal image of the god



Harmakhis, as embodied in the Sphinx, rises from the ground; and he recognised the remains of buildings, the existence of which had already been noticed by his predecessor. Prof. Maspero, Mariette's successor as Director-General of excavations in Egypt, was anxious to push the work of exploration yet further. Ancient authors, Pliny among others, had stated that the body of the Sphinx contained a royal tomb, and Arab writers had recounted all sorts of marvellous legends on the subject. Certain Egyptian monuments, moreover, represented the Sphinx as lying on a lofty pedestal and adorned with those prismatic grooves of which the architects of the Old Empire were so fond.<sup>1</sup> This pedestal might enclose the tomb of which Pliny speaks, and might have been buried in the sand as far back as the age of Khafri (Khephren) of the fourth dynasty. To solve the problem it was necessary to lower the level of the soil as far as the rocky platform on which the monument stands, and thus to restore it to the condition in which it was towards the commencement of the second century of our era. Then soundings would have to be taken in order to see whether the supposed tomb existed or not. A sum of 15,000 francs, collected by subscription by the *Journal des Débats*, allowed the work of clearing away the sand to begin in the winter of 1885-6 and to be followed

<sup>1</sup> See the picture which precedes that of our stele in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 68. Cf. also ii. pll. 16, 17, where a similar decoration is to be seen in the tomb of Nofri-t-keu, daughter of Snefru of the third dynasty.

up with great activity.<sup>1</sup> After the departure of Prof. Maspero from Egypt, however, the work was interrupted, and the question accordingly has not yet been settled.

The stele of Thothmes IV is of peculiar importance for the history of the Sphinx. It furnishes, in fact, two landmarks for periods very distant from one another. Towards the middle of it, mention is made of Khafri, the third king of the fourth dynasty, in terms which the state of the stone unfortunately does not permit us to determine quite exactly. They have been held by some to imply that the monument was constructed by that king. It is probable, however, that it is much more ancient, mounting back, perhaps, to the ages preceding Menes. To Khafri would have fallen the task of clearing away for the first time during the historical period the masses of sand which had already almost covered it. Towards the fifteenth century B.C. the work had to be done again, and Thothmes IV, in consequence of a dream, undertook in his turn to disclose the image of the god to the veneration of its worshippers. The work was doubtless difficult, and once achieved he determined to preserve the memory of it. He accordingly caused a stele to be made, and inscribed upon it an account of his vision and of the labours which had been the result of it. However, he did not go to any great expense in

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Rapport sur les fouilles de 1885-6* in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1886.

searching for stone; instead of transporting a new block from Syene "he took one of the architraves of the neighbouring temple, now called the temple of the Sphinx, and engraved upon it his inscription, without troubling himself even to smooth the reverse."<sup>1</sup>

As for the text, it had been copied by Salt in 1818, and his copy is at present in the British Museum among the papers which have been alluded to above. It was published by Young in his *Hieroglyphics* (London, 1820, pl. 80), and afterwards reproduced more imperfectly in Vyse's work on the *Pyramids of Gizeh* (London, 1842, iii. Appendix, pl. 6). Lepsius gave a new and more correct copy of it in his *Denkmäler* (iii. pl. 68), but the copy was less complete in certain parts, the monument having suffered during the interval of time which had separated his journey from that of Caviglia and Salt.

Birch explained some fragments of the inscription in the work of Vyse in 1842. The historical portion has been translated into German by Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1876, pp. 89 *sqq.*), and this translation has been reproduced in the German and English editions of his *History of Egypt*.

Birch gave the first complete translation of it in the twelfth volume of the former series of *Records of the Past*. It has been further explained word by

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Rapport*, p. 47.

word and commented on by M. Pierret in his lectures at the École du Louvre 1885-6. Prof. Maspero, finally, has analysed the whole and translated several lines of the text in his *Rapport à l'Institut égyptien sur les fouilles de 1885-6* (in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 1886).

At the head of the stele the solar disk, with its two uræi serpents and two great wings, commands the two scenes which occupy the first compartment. On the left the king, in a wig crowned by the uræus, presents in his two uplifted hands a large-bodied vase to the divine sphinx with human head, who reclines on a lofty pedestal. Above is an inscription which occupies all the length of the scene: "The King of the South and of the North, Men-khopiru-Ri Thothmos Khakeu who grants life stable and pure." And the god replies: "I have given life stable and pure to the master of the two lands Thothmos Khakeu." In front of the king is a short legend, much injured, which contained the words: "Homage of the vase Nemast."

On the right the king, in a helmet, with the left hand presents the sphinx, reclined on a pedestal similar to the other but turned in the opposite direction, with incense which smokes in a vase, and with the right hand offers a libation which he pours over an altar of very elongated form. Above the head of the king is the same formula as before: "The King of the South and of the North, Men-khopiru-Ri Thothmos Khakeu." And Harmakhis

replies: "I have given the sword to the master of the two lands, Thothmos Khakeu."

Between the two scenes, below the disk, is a vertical inscription, which occupies all the upper part of the first compartment and passes between the two figures of the sphinxes, which lie back to back. It runs thus: "I have caused Men-khopiru-Ri to rise on the throne of SEB, Thothmos Khakeu in the function of TUM."

The pedestals on which the two sphinxes recline consist of three horizontal platforms, and of a wall which is ornamented alternately with incised squares and rectangles, interrupted towards the extremities by four designs, symmetrically arranged and somewhat resembling the leaves of trefoil. It is this decoration which has already been noted above, and which is found on monuments of the Old Empire.

An irregular fracture, which commences towards the twelfth line of the inscription, runs from right to left, leaving intact only a part of the two following lines. The measurements taken by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 68) allow us to determine the extent of the text which has been destroyed. The monument was originally 7 ft. 2 in. in length and 11 ft. 10 in. in height. Now the hieroglyphics have been destroyed to a height of nearly 4 ft. on the left side, of 4 ft. 4 in. in the middle, and of 5 ft. 4 in. on the right side. Taking no notice of the double tableau, which forms the upper compartment

of the stele, we see that nearly one half of the inscription has become illegible.

The conclusion must have contained the answer of Thothmos to the words of the god, and then a recital of the works which were executed in accordance with his commands. It ended, doubtless, with a dithyramb in honour of the monarch, Harmakhis assuring to him a glorious reign as a reward for his piety. As a matter of fact, Thothmos had hardly ascended the throne before he commenced the work and erected the stele. Then the sand of the desert recommenced to rise little by little, and probably as far back as the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C. the Sphinx was already enshrouded by it again. In the Greek and Roman epochs it was once more removed several times. The staircase was constructed which gave access to the temple, and numerous tourists were able to engrave their names on the wall of the temple and the paws of the Sphinx. In spite of much trouble and expense, the savans of the nineteenth century have not yet succeeded in completely disinterring this unique monument of primeval Egypt or in discovering its hidden secret.

## THE STELE OF THOTHMES IV

1. The first year, the third month of the inundation (Athyr), the 19th day, under the Majesty of the HORUS, the strong bull who produces the risings (of the sun), the master of diadems, whose royalty is stable as [that of] TUM, the golden hawk, prevailing with the glaive, the vanquisher of the nine bows,<sup>1</sup> king of the South and of the North, Men-khopiru-Ri, the son of the Sun, Thothmos Khakeu, beloved of AMON-RA, king of the gods, giver of life serene, like RA, eternally.
2. The good god lives, the son of TUM, who lays claim on HARMAKHIS the sphinx, the life of the universal lord; the omnipotent<sup>2</sup> who creates the beneficent flesh of KHOPRI, beautiful of face like the chief his father. As soon as he issues forth, he is furnished with his forms,<sup>3</sup> [and the diadems] of HORUS are on his head; king of the South and of the North, delight of the divine ennead, who purifies ON,<sup>4</sup>
3. who reigns<sup>5</sup> in the abode of PTAH, offering the truth to TUM, presenting<sup>6</sup> it to the master of the southern wall,<sup>7</sup> making endowments of daily offerings<sup>8</sup> to the god, accomplishing all that [now] exists and seeking [new] honours for the gods of the South and of the North, constructing their temples of white stone and confirming all their substance,<sup>9</sup> legitimate<sup>10</sup> son of TUM, Thothmos Khakeu, like unto RA;

<sup>1</sup> That is, of the barbarians.

<sup>2</sup> *Ur sep*, properly, "he whose vicissitudes are great."

<sup>3</sup> This word appears only in Young, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Or "restores On" (Heliopolis).

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "who wields the sceptre of the abode of PTAH," *i.e.* Memphis.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "making it ascend (to the nostrils) of the god," as so often depicted on the monuments.

<sup>7</sup> PTAH. The southern wall was the part of Memphis where the temple of the god stood.

<sup>8</sup> *Ameni-t-u*.

<sup>9</sup> Or "their existences," *pat-u*.

<sup>10</sup> Literally "of his loins."

4. heir of HORUS,<sup>1</sup> master of his throne, Men-khopiru-ri, who gives life. Now, when his Majesty was a child,<sup>2</sup> in the character of HORUS in KHEB,<sup>3</sup> his beauty [was] like that of [the god] who avenges his father (OSIRIS); it was regarded like that of the god himself; the soldiers raised shouts of joy because of him, the Royal sons and all the nobles submitting themselves to his valour<sup>4</sup> because of his exploits;
5. for he has renewed the circle of his victories, even as the son of NUT.<sup>5</sup> At that time he hunted<sup>6</sup> on the mountains of the Memphite nome, taking his pleasure,<sup>7</sup> along the roads of the South and of the North,<sup>8</sup> shooting at the target<sup>9</sup> with darts<sup>10</sup> of bronze, chasing the lions and the gazelles of the desert, advancing on his chariot with horses swifter
6. than the wind, together with only one of his servants,<sup>11</sup> without being recognised by any one. Then came his time for allowing repose to his servants, at the

<sup>1</sup> Or "flesh of Horus."

<sup>2</sup> *Anup*, with the determinative of "infant," is used in the sense of "child," "youth," especially when reference is made to the royal family. See Brugsch, *Dict.* p. 92. Here the word signifies "hereditary prince."

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* in the north of Egypt, where Horus had passed his early years under the charge of his mother Isis. The young prince is likened to Horus.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, "being under his double solar power" (of North and South). <sup>5</sup> Here the god Set.

<sup>6</sup> The word *sam*, which is without a determinative, may not signify "to hunt" here. Brugsch (*Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 93) thinks that the *sokheti-u* (or perhaps *sam-ti-u*), sometimes represented as holding a lance, were warriors or huntsmen. They were more probably shepherds, who when leading their flocks to the "fields" (*sokhet*, *sam*) were armed in order to defend their flocks and themselves.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "rejoicing his face."

<sup>8</sup> Going from south to north.

<sup>9</sup> *Heb*, with the determinative of a piece of wood on a base and transfixed by featherless arrows.

<sup>10</sup> *Khomt* means merely objects of bronze. If the determinative of *heb* is exactly represented in the copy the objects would be darts.

<sup>11</sup> *Uā*, "one," is repeated twice in the copies and hitherto the translation has been "one and one," *i.e.* "two." I know no other example of such an expression, however, and believe the second *uā* to be the result of error. No doubt in the next sentence the servants are spoken of in the plural (*shes-u*), but the prince was evidently followed by an escort. Here reference is made only to his companion in the chariot.



*sopet*<sup>1</sup> of HARMAKHIS and<sup>2</sup> of SOKARIS in the necropolis, of RANNUTI<sup>3</sup> with the male and female deities,<sup>4</sup> of the mother who engenders the gods of the North,<sup>5</sup> the mistress of the wall of the South,

7. SEKHET who reigns in XOIS and in the domain of SET the great magician;<sup>6</sup>—that sacred place of the creation,<sup>7</sup> [which goes back] to the days<sup>8</sup> of the masters of KHER,<sup>9</sup> the sacred path of the gods towards the western horizon of ON; for the sphinx of KHOPRI, the very mighty, resides in this place, the greatest of the spirits, the most august of those who are venerated, when the shadow rests upon him.<sup>10</sup>

The temples of MEMPHIS and of all the districts which are on both sides [advance] towards him, with the two arms extended to adore his face,

8. with magnificent offerings for his double (*ka*). On one of these days, the royal son, Thothmos, being arrived, while walking at midday and seating himself under the shadow of this mighty god, was overcome by slumber and slept<sup>11</sup> at the very moment when RA is at the summit (of heaven).

9. He found that the Majesty of this august god spoke to

<sup>1</sup> *Sopt* has hitherto been rendered "to make offerings," but the word which has no determinative, denotes, I believe, a locality consecrated to the gods in question. Here perhaps it signifies a quarry or trench running, as is afterwards stated, in the direction of Heliopolis.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "by the side of."

<sup>3</sup> The divine nurse.

<sup>4</sup> This sense of the words has been suggested by Prof. Maspero.

<sup>5</sup> Young's copy here contains more characters than that of Lepsius.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the divinities honoured in the locality mentioned seem to me to be inserted in order to determine the place with more precision; perhaps reference is made to the gorge which leads to the Sphinx. The sentence is continued, not by *heka-ur* but by *as-t zeser ten*, in apposition to what precedes. *Ur-u* appears to be in the plural and thus to refer to Sekhet and Set.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "of the first time," an expression generally used of the creation.

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps, "which extends to the domains of the masters of Kher."

<sup>9</sup> An old name of the Egyptian Babylon, now Old Cairo. The road mentioned here appears to be different from that followed by Piankhi when going from Memphis to Babylon.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, "the time when the shadow rests upon him."

<sup>11</sup> Or "a dream which sleep produces took him."

- him with his own mouth, as a father speaks to his son, saying: Look upon me, contemplate me, O my son Thothmos; I am thy father, HARMAKHIS-KHOPRI-RA-TUM; I bestow upon thee the sovereignty
10. over my domain, the supremacy<sup>1</sup> over the living; thou shalt wear its white crown and its red crown<sup>2</sup> on the throne of SEB the hereditary chief.<sup>3</sup> May the earth be thine in all its length and breadth; may the splendour of the universal master illumine (thee); may there come unto thee the abundance<sup>4</sup> that is in the double land, the riches brought from every country and the long duration of years. Thine is my face, thine is my heart; thy heart is mine.<sup>5</sup>
11. Behold my actual condition that thou mayest protect all my perfect limbs.<sup>6</sup> The sand of the desert whereon I am laid has covered me. Save me,<sup>7</sup> causing all that is in my heart<sup>8</sup> to be executed. For I know that thou art my son, my avenger . . . *approach* (?), behold I am with thee. I am [thy father] . . .
12. . . . Afterwards [the prince awakened]; he understood the word of this god and kept silence in his heart . . . The temples of the district consecrate offerings to this god<sup>9</sup> . . .
13. . . . Khafri,<sup>10</sup> image made for TUM-HARMAKHIS . . .
14. . . . at the festivals . . .
- . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The last words are found only in Young's copy.

<sup>2</sup> The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The feminine pronoun is suffixed to the words.

<sup>3</sup> Common title of Seb, indicating the antiquity of his cult. The title (*erpa*) dates from a period when as yet there was no *suten* or "king," and recalls an age of primitive feudalism. Amon, who became the supreme deity in the time of the Theban dynasties, is *suten* or "king" of the gods, as first pointed out by Professor Maspero.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, "provisions."

<sup>5</sup> The two copies differ here; I supply *ab* ("heart") before *k-n-a*.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from Young's copy: "behold for thee my destiny, as being in protection of my limbs."

<sup>7</sup> Literally, "heal me."

<sup>8</sup> That is, what my heart desires.

<sup>9</sup> Brugsch conjecturally restores the passage thus: "[Without thinking of freeing from sand the work of king] Khafra, the image he had made for the god Tum-Harmakhis." If we consider the Sphinx as really older than Khafri, the latter part of the proposed translation must be abandoned.

<sup>10</sup> Khéphren of the fourth dynasty.

# TABLETS OF TEL EL-AMARNA RELATING TO PALESTINE IN THE CENTURY BEFORE THE EXODUS

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR

IN the winter of 1887 a very remarkable discovery was made among the mounds of Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. Tel el-Amarna lies on the eastern bank of the Nile about midway between Minieh and Siout, and its extensive ruins cover the site of the capital of Amenôphis IV, or Khu-en-Aten, the so-called "Heretic King" of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. Khu-en-Aten was the son of Amenôphis III by a Syrian princess Teie, who, as we now know was the daughter of Duisratta, the king of Mitanni or Nahrina, the Aram Naharaim of Scripture (Judges iii. 8), a Mesopotamian district which lay opposite to the Hittite city of Carchemish. Like his father, Khu-en-Aten surrounded himself with Semitic officers and courtiers, and after his accession to the throne publicly professed himself a convert to the religion of his mother, which consisted in the adoration of the winged solar disk, called Aten in Egyptian. His rejection of the faith of his fathers soon brought

about a rupture with the powerful priesthood of Thebes, and Khu-en-Aten eventually left his ancestral capital and built himself and his followers a new capital further north, the site of which is now known as Tel el-Amarna. Here in the neighbouring cliffs and desert are found the tombs of the adherents of the new Egyptian creed, and here Khu-en-Aten reigned and died. He was succeeded by one or two converts to the foreign religion ; but their reigns were brief, and after a short while the Pharaoh returned to the worship of the Egyptian gods, the new capital of Khu-en-Aten was deserted, and the foreign faith suppressed.

On his departure from Thebes, Khu-en-Aten had carried with him the archives of the kingdom, and it is a portion of these that the *fellahin* discovered in 1887 among the foundations of the royal palace. They consist of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform writing of the Babylonian type and in the Babylonian language. The tablets are copies of letters and despatches from the kings and governors of Babylonia and Assyria, of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Eastern Kappadokia, of Phœnicia and Palestine, and they prove that all over the civilised East, in the century before the Exodus, active literary intercourse was carried on through the medium of a common literary language—that of Babylonia, and the complicated Babylonian script. It is evident, therefore, that throughout Western Asia schools and libraries must have existed, in which clay tablets inscribed with

cuneiform characters were stored up, and where the language and syllabary of Babylonia were taught and learned. Such a library must have existed in the Canaanite city of Kirjath-Sepher or "Book-town" (Judges i. 11), and if its site can ever be recovered and excavated we may expect to find there its collection of books written upon imperishable clay.

Among the correspondents of the Egyptian sovereigns were Assur-yuballidh of Assyria and Burna-buryas of Babylonia, which thus fix the date of Khu-en-Aten to about 1430 B.C. Palestine and Phœnicia were garrisoned at the time by Egyptian troops, and there were as yet no traces of the Israelite in the land. But the Canaanitish population was already threatened by an enemy from the north. These were the Hittites, to whom references are made in several of the despatches from Syria and Phœnicia. After the weakening of the Egyptian power in consequence of the religious troubles which followed the death of Khu-en-Aten, the Hittites were enabled to complete their conquests in the south and to drive a wedge between the Semites of the East and the West. With the revival of the Egyptian empire under the rulers of the nineteenth dynasty the southward course of Hittite conquest was checked, but the wars of Ramses II against the Hittites of Kadesh on the Orontes desolated and exhausted Canaan and prepared the way for the Israelitish invasion.

Two facts of special interest to the Biblical student

result from the discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna. In the first place, as has been seen, the date of the Exodus has been approximately determined; at all events, the Egyptologists have been shown to be right in not assigning it to an earlier period than B.C. 1320, that is to say, the reign of Menephtah the son and successor of Ramses II. In the second place, light is thrown upon the statement of Exodus (i. 8) that the Pharaoh of the oppression was "a new king which knew not Joseph." We learn from the tablets that Khu-en-Aten was not only half Semitic in descent and wholly Semitic in faith, he also surrounded himself with officers and courtiers of Phœnician or Canaanitish extraction. The Vizier himself, who stood next to the monarch, and like him is addressed as "lord," bore the name of Dûdu, the Dodo and David of the Old Testament, which belonged specifically to the land of Canaan. Most of the Egyptian governors and lieutenants from whom the king received his despatches had similarly Semitic names, and it is clear that not only were Semitic culture and religion dominant in Egypt, but most of the offices of state were in Semitic hands. The rise of the nineteenth dynasty under Ramses I. marked the reaction against Semitic influence, and brought with it the expulsion of the foreigner. Thebes became once more the capital of the kingdom, and the Egyptian priesthood and aristocracy took their revenge upon the hated stranger. Had the insurrection of Arabi been successful, the Europeans would

have fared in our day as the Semites fared in the days of Ramses.

The translations which follow are those of tablets which I have copied at Cairo. I have selected for the most part the despatches which were sent from Southern Palestine. The originals are all preserved in the Museum of Boulaq, with the exception of No. III, which was in the possession of M. Urbain Bouriant, the director of the French Archæological School in Cairo, at the time I copied it. Transliterations of the texts, with notes, will appear in a paper of mine on "The tablets of Tel el-Amarna now in Egypt"; a general account of the tablets at Boulaq and in Berlin will be found in Dr. Hugo Winckler's *Bericht ueber die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, No. 51, December 1888.

It may be added that Amenôphis III and his son Amenôphis IV Khu-en-Aten are addressed in the tablets by their *prænomina*, Nimmuriya and Nimutriya corresponding to the name read Mâ-nib-rî by Professor Maspero, Napkhurururiya to Nofir-khopiru-rî. Napkhurururiya is also found abbreviated into Khuri(ya), which explains why in the Greek lists Oros occupies the place of Khu-en-Aten.

# DESPATCHES FROM PALESTINE IN THE CENTURY BEFORE THE EXODUS.

## No. I <sup>1</sup>

1. To the king, my lord,
2. my gods,<sup>2</sup> my Sun-god,<sup>3</sup>
3. by letter
4. I speak,<sup>4</sup> even I Su-arda-ka <sup>5</sup>
5. thy servant, the dust of thy feet :
6. at the feet of the king my lord,
7. my gods, my Sun-god,
8. seven times seven do I prostrate myself.
9. The king of (the country of) . . . directed the mouth
10. to make war :
11. in the city of KELTE <sup>6</sup>
12. he made war against thee the third time.
13. A cry (for assistance) to myself
14. -was brought. My city
15. belonging to myself
16. *adhered to* (?) me.
17. Ebed-tob <sup>7</sup> sends
18. to the men of KELTE ;

<sup>1</sup> No. XI in my forthcoming paper on the tablets of Tel el-Amarna.

<sup>2</sup> This is a curious parallelism to the use of the plural *Elohim* in Hebrew for the singular "God."

<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian Pharaoh was not only "the son of the Sun," but was also identified with the Sun-god himself.

<sup>4</sup> *Ki dhema atma.*

<sup>5</sup> Su-arda-ka is a purely Assyro-Babylonian name, and shows how far the cultivated classes of Western Asia had gone in adopting the Babylonian language.

<sup>6</sup> The Hebrew Keilah (Josh. xv. 44, 1 Sam. xxiii.), now Kilâ.

<sup>7</sup> Abd-Dhabba, which may, however, also be read Abd-Khima. Compare the names of Tab-Rimmon (1 Kings, xv. 18), and Tab-el (Is. vii. 6).



19. he sends 14 pieces of silver, and
20. they marched against my rear ;
21. and the domains of the king my lord
22. they overran. KELTE
23. my city Ebed-tob
24. removed from my jurisdiction ;
25. the *pleasure park* (?) of the king my lord
26. and the fortress of Bel-nathan <sup>1</sup>
27. and the fortress of Hamor <sup>2</sup> from
28. before him and his justice
29. he removed. Lab-api
30. the *halting* (?) in speech occupied
31. the fortress of . . . NINU and
32. now Lab-api
33. together with Ebed-tob and
34. [his men] has occupied the fortress of . . . NINU
35. . . . when the king to his servant

*Lacuna.*

#### ON THE EDGE

1. As regards this matter, No !
2. twice has the king returned (this) answer.

#### No. II <sup>3</sup>

*The commencement of the despatch is lost.*

1. (And) again the city of PIR(GAR ?),<sup>4</sup>
2. a fortress which (is) in front of this country,
3. I made faithful to the king. At the same time
4. the city of GAZA <sup>5</sup> belonging to the king which (is) on  
the coast of the sea

<sup>1</sup> Written ideographically EN-MU, in Assyrian Bil-nadin.

<sup>2</sup> Written with the ideograph of "ass" *emer*, Heb. *khamôr*. There is a similar play upon the name of the Amorite in the Old Testament, Gen. xxxiv. 2, etc. compared with xlviii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> No. X in my forthcoming Paper.

<sup>4</sup> The traces of the last character composing the name of the city seem to show that it was *gar*.

<sup>5</sup> *Khasati-ki*.

5. westward of the land of the city of GATH-KARMEL,<sup>1</sup>
6. to Urgi and the men of the city of GATH
7. fell away. I rode in my *chariot* (?) a second time,
8. and we made a march up (out of EGYPT), and
9. Lab-api
10. and the country which thou holdest
11. to the confederates<sup>2</sup> with
12. Melech-Ar'il<sup>3</sup> [attached themselves (?)] a second time,
13. and he took the children as *hostages* (?).
14. At the same time he utters their request
15. to the men of the land of KIRJATH;<sup>4</sup>
16. and then we defended the city of URURSI.<sup>5</sup>
17. The men of the garrison whom thou hadst left
18. in it, Apis<sup>6</sup> my messenger all (of them)
19. collected. Addasi-rakan
20. in his house in the city of GAZA

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the words *Gin-ti-Ki-ir-mi-il-a-ki*. But the first *ki* may be the determinative affix of locality, in which case we should have to read Gath-Irmila. The difficulty here is the strange name Irmila. It may, however, be compared with that of Jarmuth, now Yarmût (Josh. x. 3, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> *Amili Khabiri*. The Khabiri or "confederates" are spoken of in the tablet next translated (line 13), where they are described as bordering upon Rabbah and Keilah. The word occurs in K 890, lines 4 and 8, in the sense of "companions" (*istu pan khabiri-ya iptar'sanni*, "from the face of my companions he has separated me"). Its use in these despatches as the name of a body of men who possessed territory in the south of Palestine is very interesting, as it throws light on the origin of the name of Hebron, and explains why the name is not met with in the Egyptian lists of the Palestinian cities. *Khebron* (Hebron), in fact, denoted the "Confederacy" of tribes who met at the great sanctuary of Kirjath-Arba, the termination (*-ôn*) being that which, as in Jeshurun or Zebulon or Simeon, distinguished territorial names. In the list of Palestinian cities given by Thothes III at Karnak the place of Hebron seems to be taken by Yaâqab-el, "Jacob is El" or "god."

<sup>3</sup> "Moloch is Ar'il." Ar'il is the Arêl or "hero" of the Moabite Stone of the Old Testament (Isaiah xxxiii. 7) which appears as Ariel in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, and Isaiah xxix. 1, 2, who applies the term to Jerusalem. Like the writer of the despatch, Isaiah considered the word to be a compound of *êl* or *il*, "God."

<sup>4</sup> *Qarti-ki*. The Kirjath meant is probably either Kirjath-Arba (Hebron) or Kirjath-Sepher. But it may be Kirjath-Baal (Josh. xv. 60).

<sup>5</sup> Written Urursi in the next despatch (line 15). I cannot identify the town.

<sup>6</sup> *Khapi*.

21. [remained]. To the land of EGYPT<sup>1</sup> . . .

*Lacuna.*

ON THE EDGE

He gave (the despatch) to the (king).

No. III<sup>2</sup>

1. To the king my lord
2. speak thus :
3. Thy servant [says], even Arudi :<sup>3</sup>
4. [at the feet of the king] seven times seven do I prostrate myself.
5. [Thy] servant (?) . . . (when) a raid was made
6. by Milki the son of Marratim<sup>4</sup>
7. against the country of the king my lord,
8. at the head of the forces of the city of GEDOR,<sup>5</sup>
9. the forces of the city of GATH
10. and the forces of the city of KEILAH.
11. They took the country of the city of RUBUTE<sup>6</sup>
12. *dependent* (?) on the country of the king,
13. belonging to the confederates ;
14. and again entirely
15. the city of the land of URURUSI,
16. the city of the temple of URAS, whose name is MARRUM,<sup>7</sup>
17. the city of the king *dependent* (?)

<sup>1</sup> *Mitsri-ki*

<sup>2</sup> No. III in my Paper on "Babylonian Tablets from Tel el-Amarna" published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 1888.

<sup>3</sup> The name may also be read Aruki.

<sup>4</sup> Marratini means the "sea-marshes" in Assyrian, and was specially applied to the marsh-lands in the south of Babylonia (whence the Merathaim of Jer. i. 21). The scribe has transformed the title of the prince "the king (*melech* or *milki*) the son of the salt-marshes" into two proper names, Milki and Marratim.

<sup>5</sup> *Gaturri-ki*. Gedor (Josh. xv. 58, 1 Chr. xii. 7, 2) is the modern Gedûr north of Hebron.

<sup>6</sup> "Of the princes." The scribe, however, seems to have meant Rabbah, "the capital," mentioned in Josh. xv. 60.

<sup>7</sup> The Aramaic *marî*, "lord." We learn from coins that Marnas was the title of the supreme god of Gaza.

18. on the district of the men of the city of KEILAH.  
 19. And I overthrew [the enemies (?)] of the king . . .

*The remaining lines are too much injured for translation.*

No. IV<sup>1</sup>

1. To Dûdu<sup>2</sup> my lord, my father,
2. I speak, even Aziru<sup>3</sup> thy son, thy servant ;
3. at the feet of my father I prostrate myself ;
4. unto the feet of my father may there be peace !
5. O Dûdu, now [the daughter (?)]
6. [of the king (?)] my lord, Gama . . .
7. . . . . the foundation
8. of the palace of my lord the king has been laid
9. and for a temple I have founded (it).

- 
10. This I have done : as for thee there is none (else)
  11. my father ; and now the plantations,
  12. O Dûdu, my father, set in the ground,
  13. and I will look after the girl.

- 
14. [And] thou (art) my father and my lord.
  15. [Verily] I will look after the girl ; the kings of the  
 AMORITES (?)<sup>4</sup>
  16. [are] thy . . . and my house (is) from

<sup>1</sup> No. IX in my forthcoming Paper.

<sup>2</sup> The Biblical Dodo (Judg. x. 1, 2 Sam. xxiii. 24, 1 Chr. xi. 12, 26) or Dod. The name punctuated David is also written Dod. Hitherto the name has not been found outside the Bible and the Moabite Stone (where king Mesha states that he carried away the *arels* or "heroes" of Yahveh and Dodah), though the name of the Carthaginian goddess Dido shows that it also existed in Phœnician. According to an Assyrian list of deities Dadu was the name given to Hadad or Rimmon in Phœnicia and Palestine, thus explaining the name of Bedad or Ben-Dad, "the son of Dad," the name of an Edomite king (Gen. xxxvi. 35). In Assyrian Dadu, "the beloved one," was an epithet applied to Tammuz the Sun-god.

<sup>3</sup> The Biblical Ezer.

<sup>4</sup> The word is *Amurî*, which denotes the Amorites of northern Syria in other tablets of the collection, where, however, it is preceded by the determinative of country or people. It is therefore possible that here it is the first person of an Assyrian verb "I have seen."

17. . . . and the planting
18. I have directed and . . . .
19. the planting I have accomplished.

- 
20. [And] thou to the presence
  21. of my [lord], in the companionship
  22. . . . the foundation-stones of the palace I laid.

*The next nine lines are too mutilated for translation.*

32. [And] I (am) the servant of the king my lord,
33. [who comes] from (fulfilling) the orders of the king my  
lord
34. [and] from (fulfilling) the orders of Dûdu my father.
35. I observe [all of them] until his return.
36. . . . he sends [a messenger],
37. he sends a soldier ;
38. but let me come to thee.

#### No. V<sup>1</sup>

1. [To] the great [king], the king of the world, the king  
[of EGYPT],
2. I present myself, O creator of everything which (is) great,
3. (I) the servant of the mighty lord, to the king
4. my [lord] ; at the feet of my lord, the Sun-god,
5. seven times seven I prostrate myself. Verily is
6. the king my lord. Lo, exceedingly powerful
7. is he constituted. Lo, a mouth of judgment<sup>2</sup> in
8. thy presence exists. The men
9. of the city of TSUMURA<sup>3</sup> belonging to the king (are)  
subjects
10. of the king. Lo, the city of ZARAK (sends) this report :
11. The four sons of Abd-Asi[rti]<sup>4</sup> have been captured,

<sup>1</sup> No. XIV in my forthcoming Paper.

<sup>2</sup> *Maspudh*, the Heb. *mishpâdh*.

<sup>3</sup> The Simyra of classical writers, the Biblical Zemar (Gen. x. 18), at the foot of Lebanon in Phœnicia.

<sup>4</sup> Abd-Asirti or Abd-Asirta is also called Abd-Asrâti, and according to Dr. Winckler, in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, now at Berlin, the word Asrâti is preceded by the determinative of divinity. *Asrâti* is the

12. and there is no one who has brought the news
13. to the king, as well as counsel. Behold
14. the servant of thy justice (am) I, and as for thee
15. what I have heard I have despatched to my lord.
16. A march has been made<sup>1</sup> against the city of  
Tsumu[ra]
17. which like a bird whose nest on a precipice
18. is laid . . .
19. is exceedingly strong.
20. And as for the messengers whom
21. from the house of . . .
22. I sent, into the city of Tsumura
23. I have seen their entrance.
24. And Ya[pa]-Addu the *wares* (?)<sup>2</sup>
25. did not place with me.
26. They took also the men of . . .
27. his cavalry, and the stone
28. of my justice, . . . and
29. the divine image, the sceptres (and) the stone of  
sovereignty,
30. the god of the oracles of the king;<sup>3</sup> and
31. the king spoke to them.
32. And thou didst . . . the (seats) thou hast se-  
lected (?)<sup>4</sup>
33. as many as the king created for them.
34. And the son of the servant of the lord and the wife of  
the father

plural of *Asirti*, which the cuneiform "syllabaries" explain by the words "high place," "oracle," and "sanctuary." It is the *ashêrah* of the Old Testament, mistranslated "grove" in the Authorised Version. The *Ashêrah* was properly the upright post often seen upon Assyrian gems which symbolised the goddess of fertility. The latter bore the name of *Ashêrah*, like her symbol, among the Southern Canaanites, and corresponded to the *Ashtoreth* or *Astartê* of Phœnicia. *Abd-Asirti* would signify "the servant of *Ashêrah*."

<sup>1</sup> Or "counsel has been taken," the Assyrian *milik* signifying both "march" and "counsel."

<sup>2</sup> *Kinanatu*, "female slaves" in Assyrian, but here perhaps (like the Hebrew *Chenaani*, "a merchant") derived from the name of Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Hebrew *Urim* and *Thummim* in the breastplate of the High Priest.

<sup>4</sup> The reading and translation of this line are extremely doubtful.

35. (even) of the god of heaven and earth, the king, have  
spoken to the men.
36. (I have collected?) all my servants ;
37. . . . . his . . . to . . . .
38. . . . . he went up . . . .
39. . . . . before me, and . . . .
40. *This line has been destroyed.*
41. (Near) me there was no one at all
42. of them, whether two or three . . . . .
43. . . . . and the god<sup>1</sup> heard
44. the words of the servant of his justice, and the god
45. brought life to his servant ;
46. and the action of his servant he enquired after a second  
time,<sup>2</sup>
47. which may he requite (?) unto me, and may the great  
lady
48. who (is) with thee, and the female domestics of the  
palace. Verily Aziru and
49. Yapa-Addu have taken up opposition
50. towards me, and have not marched up (the country)
51. any one (of them.) They held a conference
52. with me. That place of observation
53. belonging to me, which my father gave me,
54. even the king, for ever, [implies]
55. the making of words on the part of me the servant of  
[thy] justice.
56. And I rejoiced also within myself at
57. these words (which) I have uttered, even I
58. the dust of thy feet, O king !
59. O father, thy father is not Aziru ;
60. he has not girdled<sup>3</sup> the world
61. with his governors and his prophesying<sup>4</sup> [and]
62. [his] god and goddesses and the god KU . . .
63. [It is] the work of his servant, and . . . .
64. to defend (?) the house of thy father
65. against the country of TARKUMIYA marched

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Egyptian monarch.

<sup>2</sup> Such seems to be the meaning of the expression *istu sani*.

<sup>3</sup> *Igur*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sipti*.

66. the sons of Abd-Asirta, and
67. there took the country of the king belonging to them
68. the king of the country of MITANA-NANU<sup>1</sup> and the king
69. of the country of TARKUSI and the king of the country  
of the HITTITES.<sup>2</sup>
70. The god who inspires the king, the soldiers of the king
71. along with Yankhan the servant
72. of the king of the country of YARIMUTA<sup>3</sup>
73. [and] the gate-keeper Milku-mi . . . .
74. [took with them?] . . . .
75. . . . . they came forth [and]
76. . . . . he sends them.

---

No. VI<sup>4</sup>

1. To the king of EGYPT, my lord,
  2. by letter
  3. I speak (even I), the king of the country of ALASIYA<sup>5</sup>  
thy brother.
  4. Unto myself (is) peace,
  5. and upon thee may there be peace !
  6. To thy house, thy children, thy son,
  7. thy wives, thy many chariots, thy horses,
  8. and in EGYPT thy country
  9. may there be abundance of peace !
- 
10. O my brother, my messenger
  11. a costly gift carefully
  12. has carried to them, and has heard
  13. thy salutation.
- 

<sup>1</sup> Mitana or Mitanni lay on the eastern bank of the Euphrates north of the Belikh according to the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. A docket attached to one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets identifies it with the Egyptian Nahrina, the Aram-Naharaim of the Old Testament of which Chushan-rish-athaim was king (Judges iii. 8). What is meant by the suffix *nanu* I cannot explain.

<sup>2</sup> *Khata*.

<sup>3</sup> Yarimuta is described in another tablet as situated upon the sea, to the north of Phœnicia.

<sup>4</sup> No. VI in my forthcoming Paper.

<sup>5</sup> Alasiya is the Syrian country called Alosa or Arosha by the Egyptologists.



- 
14. This man is my minister, O my brother ;  
15. carefully the costly-gift  
16. has he conveyed to them.  
17. My minister my ship  
18. . . . . has not  
19. brought  
20. together with them.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TELLOH

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR AMIAUD

*(Continued from Vol. I)*

FOR an account of these interesting inscriptions, which go back to the early dawn of Babylonian history, and are written in the non-Semitic language of primitive Chaldæa, the reader is referred to the first volume of the new series of the *Records of the Past*, pp. 42 *sqq.*

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TELLOH (*Continued*)

### INSCRIPTIONS OF UR-BAU

#### NO. 2.—ON THE STONE OF A THRESHOLD<sup>1</sup>

1. FOR the god EN-KI,
  2. his king,
  3. Ur-Bau,
  4. the patesi
  5. of SHIRPURLA,
  6. the offspring begotten
  7. by the god Nin-âgal,
  8. his temple
  9. has constructed.
- 

#### NO 3.—ON LARGE BRICKS<sup>2</sup>

1. For the god NIN-GIRSU,
  2. the powerful warrior
  3. of the god ELLILLA,
  4. Ur-bau
  5. the patesi
  6. of SHIRPURLA
  7. his temple
  8. has constructed.
- 

#### NO. 4.—ON A SMALL ROUND OBJECT OF WHITE STONE

1. For the goddess BAU
2. the daughter of ANNA,

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes en Chaldée par E. de Sarzec*, pl. 27, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 37, Nos. 1, 2.

3. for the life
4. of Ur-bau
5. the patesi
6. of SHIRPURLA,
7. Ur-Ellilla has brought this *da*;
8. and for the life of the wife of his son
9. he has consecrated it.

## VII. INSCRIPTIONS OF GUDEA

NO. I.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE A OF THE LOUVRE<sup>1</sup>

Cartouche engraved on the right shoulder.

1. Gudea,
2. the patesi
3. of SHIRPURLA,
4. who the temple E-NINNÛ
5. of the god NIN-GIRSU
6. has constructed.

## COLUMN I

1. For the goddess NIN-GHARSAG,
2. the goddess who protects the city,
3. the mother of its inhabitants,
4. for his lady,
5. Gudea
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA
8. her temple of the city GIRSU-KI
9. has constructed.

## COLUMN II

1. Her sacred *altar* (?)
2. he has made.
3. The holy throne of her divinity
4. he has made.
5. In her sanctuary he has placed them.
6. From the mountains of the land of MÂGAN<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 20. The inscription has been translated by M. Ledrain : *Communications à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Sept. 14th, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> The Sinaitic Peninsula.

## COLUMN III

1. a rare stone he has caused to be brought ;
2. for her statue
3. he has caused it to be cut.
4. "O goddess who fixes the destinies of heaven  
and earth,
5. NIN-TU
6. mother of the gods,
7. of Gudea

## COLUMN IV

1. the builder of the temple
2. prolong the life !"
3. by this name he has named it (*i.e.* the statue),
4. and in the temple he has placed it.

NO. 2.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE B OF THE LOUVRE<sup>1</sup>

## COLUMN I

1. In the temple of the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. his king,
3. the statue of Gudea,
4. the patesi
5. of SHIRPURLA,
6. who the temple E-NINNÛ
7. has constructed :
8. 1 *qa* of fermented liquor,
9. 1 *qa* of food,
10. half a *qa* of . . . ,
11. half a *qa* of . . . ,
12. such are the offerings which it institutes.
13. As for the patesi
14. who shall revoke them,
15. who the orders of the god NIN-GIRSU
16. shall transgress,
17. let the offerings instituted by him
18. in the temple of the god NIN-GIRSU

<sup>1</sup> The first column has been translated by Dr. Oppert : *Communications à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, March 1882.

19. be revoked !
20. Let the commands of his mouth be annulled !

## COLUMN II

1. To the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. Gudea,
5. the *architect* (?),
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA,
8. the shepherd chosen by the unchangeable will
9. of the god NIN-GIRSU,
10. regarded with a favourable eye
11. by the goddess NINÂ,
12. dowered with power
13. by the god NIN-DARA,
14. covered with renown
15. by the goddess BAU,
16. the offspring
17. of the goddess GUTUMDUG,
18. dowered with sovereignty and the sceptre  
supreme
19. by the god GAL-ALIM,

## COLUMN III

1. proclaimed afar among living creatures
2. by the god DUN-SHAGA,
3. whose primacy has been firmly founded
4. by the god NIN-GISH-ZIDA
5. his god.
6. After that the god NIN-GIRSU
7. had turned towards his city a favourable gaze
8. (and) Gudea
9. had chosen as the faithful shepherd of the  
country
10. (and) among the *divisions* (?) of men
11. had established his power,

12. then he purified the city and cleansed it.
13. He has laid the foundations (of a temple)
14. and deposited the foundation-cylinder.
15. The adorers of the demons (?),<sup>1</sup>

## COLUMN IV

1. the evokers of spirits (?),
2. the necromancers (?),
3. the prophetesses of divine decrees (?),
4. he has banished from the city.
5. Whoever has not departed obediently,
6. has been expelled perforce by the warriors.
7. The temple of the god NIN-GIRSU
8. in all respects
9. in a pure place he has constructed.
10. No tomb has been destroyed (?),
11. no sepulchral urn has been broken (?),
12. no son has ill-treated his mother.
13. The ministers,
14. the judges,
15. the doctors,
16. the chiefs,
17. during the execution of this work
18. have worn garments of . . . (?).
19. During all the time (of its construction)

## COLUMN V

1. in the cemetery of the city no ditch has been excavated (?),
2. no corpse has been interred (?).
3. The *Kalû*<sup>2</sup> has performed his funeral music or uttered his lamentations;
4. the female mourner has not caused her lamentations to be heard.
5. On the territory
6. of SHIRPURLA

<sup>1</sup> I give the translation of the lines which follow, as far as col. v. l. 4, inclusively, only with the greatest reserve.

<sup>2</sup> The *kalû* were a class of priests.



7. a man at variance (with his neighbour)
8. to the place of oath <sup>1</sup>
9. has taken no one ;
10. a brigand
11. has entered the house of no one.
12. For the god NIN-GIRSU
13. his king
14. (Gudea) has made the dedicatory inscriptions (?) ;
15. his temple E-NINNŪ which illuminates the darkness (?) ,
16. he has constructed
17. and reinstated.
18. In the interior (of this temple) his favourite *gigunū*
19. of cedar-wood
20. he has constructed for him.
21. After that the temple of the god NIN-GIRSU
22. he has had constructed,
23. the god NIN-GIRSU,
24. the king beloved by him,
25. from the Sea of the Highlands (ELAM) <sup>2</sup>
26. to the lower Sea
27. has forcefully opened (the ways) for him.
28. In Amanum, <sup>3</sup> the mountain of cedars,
29. [joists] of cedar,
30. whose [length] was 70 spans,
31. [and joists] of cedar
32. whose [length was] 50 spans,
33. [and joists] of box (?) <sup>4</sup>
34. whose length was 25 spans,
35. he has caused to be cut ;
36. from this mountain he has caused them to be brought.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a court of justice.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Persian gulf.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently Amanus in northern Syria.

<sup>4</sup> The Assyrian *urkarinnu*. For its explanation see an article by the Rev. C. J. Ball, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xi. p. 143.

37. The . . . . .
38. he has made.
39. The . . . . .
40. he has made.
41. The . . . . .
42. he has made.
43. The . . . . .
44. he has made.
45. As for the cedars
46. (some) to form great gates
47. he has employed ;
48. with brilliant ornaments he has enriched  
them (?),
49. and in the temple E-NINNÛ
50. he has placed them.
51. (Others) in his sanctuary E-magh-ki-a-sig-dê-da
52. he has used as beams.
53. Near the city of URSU,
54. in the mountains of IB-LA <sup>1</sup>
55. joists of *zabanum* trees,
56. of great *sha-ku* <sup>2</sup> trees,
57. of *tulubum* trees, and of *gin* trees,
58. he has caused to be cut ;

## COLUMN VI

1. in the temple of E-NINNÛ
2. he has caused them to be used as beams.
3. From SHAMANUM
4. in the mountains of MENUA,
5. from SUSALLA (?) <sup>3</sup>
6. in the mountains of MARTU, <sup>4</sup>
7. *nagal* stones
8. he has caused to be brought ;
9. in slabs

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hommel has proposed to read this name Dalla. I should prefer to read Tilla, explained by Urdhu in W. A. I., ii. 48, 13.

<sup>2</sup> It is the tree called *ashûhu* by the Assyrians.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is uncertain. Dr. Hommel reads Kasalla, comparing the Kazalla of W. A. I., iv. 34, 31, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Phœnicia.

10. he has caused them to be cut ;
11. the Holy of Holies in the temple E-NINNŪ
12. he has constructed of them.
13. From TIDANUM <sup>1</sup>
14. in the mountains of MARTU
15. *shirgal-ghabbia* stones
16. he has caused to be conveyed ;
17. in the form of *urpadda*
18. he has caused them to be cut ;
19. to (receive) the bars of the gates
20. in the temple he has arranged them.
21. From the country of KÂGAL-ADDA-KI <sup>2</sup>
22. in the mountains of KI-MASH <sup>3</sup>
23. I caused copper to be taken,
24. To make the *arm* (?) from which one escapes not
25. he has employed it.
26. From the country of MELUGHGHA <sup>4</sup>
27. *kala* trees <sup>5</sup> he has imported ;
28. he has caused to be made.<sup>6</sup>
29. From *Kilzanim* <sup>7</sup>
30. he has imported ;
31. to make the *arm* (?) . . .
32. he has employed it.
33. Gold-dust
34. from the mountains of GHAGHUM
35. he has imported ;
36. for the fabrication of the *arm* (?) . . .
37. he has utilised it.
38. Gold-dust

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Dr. Hommel, with much probability, with Tidnu or "the West" (Syria and Canaan) ; W. A. I., ii. 48, 12, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Or a "city of Abullât," or perhaps the city "Abullu-abishu," W. A. I., ii. 52, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps "the land of Mash" or Arabia Petraea, the Mash of Gen. x. 23. From Ki-mas was derived the Assyrian *kêmassî*, "copper" (W. A. I., ii. 18, 54 ; iv. 28, 13).

<sup>4</sup> In the vicinity of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

<sup>5</sup> The tree called *ushu* by the Assyrians.

<sup>6</sup> If this line is not due to an error, the engraver must have omitted something between lines 27 and 28.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Kilzanim is the name of a country. In this case, the engraver must have made some omission here.

39. from the mountains of MELUGHGHA
40. he has imported
41. to make the E-MARTU <sup>1</sup>
42. he has employed it.
43. *Lid-ri* (?)
44. he has imported.
45. From the country of GUBIN
46. the land of the *ghaluku* trees,<sup>2</sup>
47. *ghaluku* wood
48. he has imported ;
49. to make *pillars* (?)
50. he has employed it.
51. From the country of MADGA
52. in the mountains of the river GURRUDA
53. *bitumen* (?)
54. he has imported ;
55. the platform of the temple E-NINNŪ
56. he has constructed.
57. *Im-gha-um*
58. he has imported.
59. From the mountains of BARSIP
60. *nalua* stones
61. in large boats
62. he has caused to be brought ;
63. the foundation of the temple E-NINNŪ he has en-  
circled with them.
64. By arms, the city of ANSHAN in the country of ELAM
65. he has conquered ;
66. its spoils
67. to the god NIN-GIRSU
68. in the temple E-NINNŪ
69. he has consecrated.
70. Gudea,
71. the patesi
72. of SHIRPURLA,
73. after that the temple E-NINNŪ

<sup>1</sup> ["Temple of the West."—*Ed.*] '

<sup>2</sup> The tree called *huluppu* in Assyrian. [The Sumerian name may be read *ghalup*, of which *huluppu* would be an Assyrian modification. — *Ed.*]

74. to the god NIN-GIRSU
75. he had constructed,
76. has built an edifice :
77. a *pillared* (?) temple

## COLUMN VII

1. no patesi
2. for the god NIN-GIRSU
3. had constructed ;
4. he has constructed it for him.
5. He has written there his name ;
6. he has made dedicatory inscriptions (?).
7. The orders of the mouth
8. of the god NIN-GIRSU
9. he has faithfully executed.
10. From the mountains of the country of MĀGAN <sup>1</sup>
11. a hard stone he has imported.
12. For his statue
13. he has caused it to be cut.
14. "O my king,
15. whose temple
16. I have built,
17. may life be my recompense !"
18. By this name he has named (the statue),
19. and in the temple E-NINNŪ
20. he has erected it.
21. Gudea
22. unto the statue
23. has given command :
24. "To the statue of my king
25. speak !"
26. After that the temple E-NINNŪ,
27. his favourite temple
28. I had constructed,
29. I have remitted penalties, I have given presents.
30. During seven days obeisance has not been exacted.
31. The female slave has been made the equal of her mistress ;

<sup>1</sup> [The Sinaitic Peninsula and Midian.]

32. the male slave
33. has been made the equal of his master ;
34. in my city the chief of his subject
35. has been made the equal.
36. All that is evil from this temple
37. I have removed.
38. Over the commands
39. of the goddess NINÂ
40. and the god NIN-GIRSU
41. I have carefully watched.
42. A *fault* (?) the rich man has not committed ;
43. all that he has desired (?) the strong man has not done.
44. The house where there was no son,
45. it is its daughter, who new offerings (?)
46. has consecrated ;
47. for the statue of the god
48. before the mouth she has placed them.
49. Of this statue,
50. neither in silver nor in alabaster
51. nor in copper nor in tin
52. nor in bronze
53. let any one undertake the execution !
54. Let it be of hard stone !
55. Let a sacristy be established,
56. and of all that shall be brought there
57. let nothing be destroyed !
58. The statue which is before thee,
59. O god NIN-GIRSU,
60. the statue
61. of Gudea,

## COLUMN VIII

1. the patesi
2. of SHIRPURLA,
3. who the temple E-NINNÛ
4. of the god NIN-GIRSU
5. has constructed,
6. whosoever from the temple E-NINNÛ
7. shall remove

8. (or) its inscription
9. shall efface ;
10. whosoever shall break it ;
11. on the fortunate day of the commencement of  
the year,
12. whoever in the place of my god,
13. his god—
14. and it is NIN-GIRSU
15. who is my king—
16. in the country shall invoke ;
17. (whoever) my judgments
18. shall transgress,
19. my gifts
20. shall revoke ;
21. (whoever) in the recitation of my prayers
22. shall suppress my name
23. and insert his own ;
24. (whoever) of the Holy of Holies of the god NIN-  
GIRSU, my king,
25. shall abandon the *service* (?)
26. and shall not keep it (ever) before his eyes ;—
27. from the most distant days,
28. of all men of noble race,
29. of the patesis
30. of SHIRPURLA
31. who the temple E-NINNÛ
32. of the god NIN-GIRSU
33. my king
34. have constructed,
35. and who have made dedicatory inscriptions (?),
36. the words of their mouth
37. let no one change
38. nor transgress their judgments !
39. Of Gudea,
40. the patesi
41. of SHIRPURLA,
42. whoever shall change his words
43. or transgress his judgments,
44. may the god ANNA,

45. may the god ELLILLA,
46. may the goddess NIN-GHARSAG
47. may the god EN-KI, whose word is unchangeable,
48. may the god EN-ZU, whose name none pronounces,
49. may the god NIN-GIRSU
50. the king of weapons,
51. may the goddess NINÂ
52. the mistress of interpretations,
53. may the god NIN-DARA
54. the royal warrior,
55. may the mother of SHIRPURLA
56. the august goddess GATUMDUG,
57. may the goddess BAU
58. the lady the elder daughter of ANNA,
59. may the goddess NINNI
60. the lady of battles,
61. may the god BABBAR
62. the king of abundance (?),
63. may the god PASAG
64. the master workman of men,
65. may the god GAL-ALIMA,
66. may the god DUN-SHAGANA,
67. may the goddess NIN-MARKI

## COLUMN IX

1. the eldest daughter of the goddess NINÂ,
2. may the goddess DUZI-ABZU
3. the mistress of KINUNIR-KI,
4. may my god NIN-GISHZIDA,
5. change his destiny!
6. Like an ox,
7. may he be slain in the midst of his prosperity!
8. Like a wild bull
9. may he be felled in the plenitude of his strength!
10. As for his throne, may those even whom he has reduced to captivity
11. overthrow it in the dust!
12. To efface its traces (?),
13. even of its memory (?),



14. may they apply their care !
15. His name, in the temple of his god
16. may they efface from the tablets !
17. May his god
18. for the ruin of the country have no look (of pity) !
19. May he ravage it with rains from heaven !
20. May he ravage it with the waters of the earth !
21. May he become a man without a name !
22. May his princely race be reduced to subjection !
23. May this man,
24. like every man who has acted evilly towards his chief,
25. afar, under the vault of heaven, in no city whatsoever
26. find a habitation !
27. Of the champion of the gods,
28. the lord NIN-GIRSU,
29. the greatness
30. may the peoples proclaim !

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NO. 3.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE C OF THE LOUVRE.<sup>1</sup>

COLUMN I

1. The god NIN-GISH-ZIDA
2. is the god of Gudea,
3. the patesi
4. of SHIRPURLA,
5. who the temple E-ANNA
6. has constructed.

COLUMN II

1. To the goddess NINNI,
2. the mistress of the world,
3. to his lady,
4. Gudea
5. the *architect* (?),
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA,

<sup>1</sup> Partially translated by Dr. Hommel : *Die Vorsemitischen Kulturen*, p. 460.

8. who the temple of E-NINNŪ
9. of the god NIN-GIRSU
10. has constructed.
11. After that the goddess NINNI
12. her favourable regard
13. had cast upon him,
14. Gudea,
15. the patesi
16. of SHIRPURLA,
17. a man endowed with large understanding,
18. a servant to his mistress
19. devoted,
20. to make the tablet-like amulets (?)
21. has ordered (?);
22. of the *ka-al*
23. he has caused the splendour to shine.

## COLUMN III

1. His clay (for the construction of the temple) in a pure place
2. he has caused to be taken ;
3. his bricks
4. in a holy place
5. he has caused to be moulded.
6. Its *site* (?)
7. he has cleaned and levelled (?) ;
8. its *foundation* (?)
9. in the . . . .
10. he has firmly established (?).
11. The favourite temple (of the goddess),
12. the temple of E-ANNA in GIRSU-KI,
13. he has built.
14. From the mountains of the land of MÂGAN
15. a rare stone he has imported ;
16. for her statue
17. he has caused it to be cut.
18. "Of Gudea,
19. the builder of the temple

## COLUMN IV

1. may she prolong the life ! ”
2. by this name he has named it (*i.e.* the statue),
3. and in the temple of E-ANNA
4. he has placed it.
5. Whoever from the temple of E-ANNA
6. shall remove it,
7. shall break it,
8. (or) shall efface its inscription,
9. may the goddess NINNI,
10. the mistress of the world,
11. from top to bottom <sup>1</sup>
12. overthrow him !
13. Of his throne established
14. the foundations
15. may she not maintain !
16. may she annihilate his race !
17. may she cut off the years of his reign !

NO. 4.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE D OF THE LOUVRE.<sup>2</sup>

Cartouche on the right shoulder.

1. Gudea,
2. the patesi
3. of SHIRPURLA.

## COLUMN I

1. To the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. to his king,
5. Gudea,
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA,
8. the *architect* (?)
9. the constructor of the (sacred) bark

<sup>1</sup> Literally “his head in his foundations.”

<sup>2</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 9. Translated by Dr. Oppert in a *Communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, June 23d 1882.

10. of the god ELLILLA,
11. the shepherd chosen by the immutable will
12. of the god NIN-GIRSU,
13. the powerful minister
14. of the goddess NINÂ,
15. covered with renown
16. by the goddess BAU,
17. the offspring begotten
18. by the goddess GATUMDUG,
19. endowed with sovereignty and the sceptre supreme

## COLUMN II

1. by the god GAL-ALIM,
2. proclaimed afar among living creatures
3. by the god DUN-SHAGÂNA,
4. the governor
5. who loves his city,
6. (who) has made *dedicatory* (?) inscriptions,
7. (and who) his temple of E-NINNÛ, which illumines  
the darkness,
8. has constructed.
9. In the interior (of the temple) his favourite *gigunû* <sup>1</sup>
10. he has made for him of cedar-wood.
11. The temple of E-GHUD, his temple in 7 stages,
12. he has constructed.
13. In this temple the offerings
14. of the goddess BAU

## COLUMN III

1. his lady
2. he has regulated.
3. His favourite bark . . .
4. named *Kar-nun-ta-êa* <sup>2</sup>
5. he has caused to be made ;
6. on the *Kar-zagin-kâ-surra* <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps related to *gâgunû*, "a field."—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> [I should render: "the quay which comes forth from the lord."—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the name of a canal. [I should translate it: "the quay which runs from the white stone of the gate."—*Ed.*]

7. he has placed it.
8. The crew of this bark . . .
9. and its captain
10. he has organised.
11. The temple of his lord
12. to the summit he has raised (?).
13. For the goddess BAU,
14. the good lady,
15. the daughter of ANNA,
16. for his lady
17. her temple of URU-AZAGGA

## COLUMN IV

1. he has constructed.
2. By the power of the goddess NINÂ,
3. by the power of the god NIN-GIRSU,
4. to Gudea
5. who has endowed with the sceptre
6. the god NIN-GIRSU,
7. the country of MÂGAN,<sup>1</sup>
8. the country of MELUGHGHA,
9. the country of GUBI,<sup>2</sup>
10. and the country of NITUK,<sup>3</sup>
11. which possess every kind of tree,
12. vessels laden with trees of all sorts
13. into SHIRPURLA
14. have sent.
15. From the mountains of the land of MÂGAN
16. a rare stone he has caused to come ;
17. for his statue

## COLUMN V

1. he has caused it to be cut.
2. "O king, for the force immense which
3. no country can *resist* (?),
4. O god NIN-GIRSU,
5. for Gudea

<sup>1</sup> [The Sinaitic Peninsula.]<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Coptos in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The Tilmun of the Assyrians, in the Persian Gulf.

6. the builder of the temple
7. appoint a prosperous fate ! ”
8. by this name he has named (the statue),
9. (and) in the temple of E-NINNU
10. he has placed it.

NO. 5.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE E OF THE LOUVRE.

Cartouche on the right shoulder.

1. Gudea,
2. the patesi
3. of SHIRPURLA.

COLUMN I

1. To the goddess BAU,
2. the good lady,
3. the daughter of ANNA,
4. the mistress of URU-AZAGGA,
5. the mistress of abundance,
6. the lady who fixes the destinies of GIRSU-KI,
7. the lady who judges her city,
8. the lady beloved of *mortals* (?),
9. the lady of *death* (?),
10. to his lady,
11. Gudea
12. the patesi
13. of SHIRPURLA,
14. who (the temple) of E-NINNŪ
15. of the god NIN-GIRSU
16. has constructed.
17. After that the goddess BAU
18. his mistress
19. in her august heart had chosen him

COLUMN II

1. as a servant full of reverential fear,
2. for his mistress
3. the greatness of his mistress
4. he has proclaimed,

5. (and) in his clear intelligence (?)
6. to the goddess BAU
7. his lady
8. has entrusted himself.
9. As the temple of E-NINNÛ,
10. the favourite temple
11. of the god NIN-GIRSU
12. his king
13. he had constructed,
14. so for the goddess BAU
15. the daughter of ANNA
16. the mistress of URU-AZAGGA,
17. his mistress,
18. the temple of E-SIL-SIRSIRA,
19. her favourite temple,
20. he has constructed ;
21. the city he has *cleansed* (?),
22. and *levelled* (?) ;

## COLUMN III

1. to make tablet-like amulets (?)
2. he has given orders (?) ;
3. of the *ka-al*
4. he has caused the splendour to shine.
5. Its clay (for the construction of the temple) in a pure place
6. he has caused to be taken ;
7. its bricks in a holy place
8. he has caused to be moulded.
9. The brick-like *amulets* (?) he has caused to be made ;
10. the dedicatory inscriptions he has composed (?).<sup>1</sup>
11. Its site he has *cleansed* (?)
12. and *levelled* (?) ;
13. its *foundations* (?)
14. in the . . . .
15. he has firmly established (?).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the foundation-cylinders and clay cones with dedicatory inscriptions.

16. For the goddess BAU,
17. his mistress,
18. the mistress who URU-AZAGGA
19. directs,
20. in URU-AZAGGA,

## COLUMN IV

1. in a pure place,
2. he has built the temple.
3. The holy throne
4. of his divinity
5. he has made ;
6. in the place of her oracles
7. he has installed it.
8. Her sacred *altar* (?)
9. he has made ;
10. in her sanctuary
11. he has placed it.
12. The *tabernacle* (?) (called) NIN-AN-DAGAL-KI <sup>1</sup>
13. he has made ;
14. in her sanctuary
15. he has installed it.

## COLUMN V

1. At the commencement of the year,
2. the festival of the goddess BAU
3. when offerings are made to her,—
4. 1 ox *she*,<sup>2</sup>
5. 1 sheep *ni*,<sup>3</sup>
6. 3 sheep *she*,
7. 6 sheep *ush*,<sup>4</sup>
8. 2 lambs,
9. 7 *pat* of dates,
10. 7 *shab* of cream,
11. 7 shoots of a palm,

<sup>1</sup> ["The lady of the place of the maternal deity."—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> ["Young ?"—*Ed.*]      <sup>3</sup> ["Fat ?"—*Ed.*]      <sup>4</sup> ["Male ?"—*Ed.*]



12. 7 . . . . ,
13. 7 . . . . ,
14. 1 bird . . . . ,
15. 7 swans,
16. 15 cranes,
17. 1 *bird* (?) . . . . ,
18. with its 15 *eggs* (?),
19. 1 *tortoise* (?)
20. with its 30 *eggs* (?),
21. 30 garments of wool,
22. 7 garments of . . . . ,

## COLUMN VI

1. 1 garment of . . . . ,
2. (such were) the offerings of the goddess BAU
3. in the ancient temple
4. on that day.
5. Gudea,
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA,
8. after that for the god NIN-GIRSU
9. his king
10. his favourite temple,
11. the temple of E-NINNÛ,
12. he had constructed,
13. (and after that) for the goddess BAU
14. his mistress
15. her favourite temple,
16. the temple of E-SIL-SIRSIRA,
17. he had constructed,—
18. 2 oxen *she*,
19. 2 sheep *ni*,
20. 10 sheep *she*,
21. 2 lambs,
22. 7 *pat* of dates,
23. 7 *shab* of cream,
24. 7 shoots of a palm,
25. 7 . . . . ,

## COLUMN VII

1. 7 . . . . ,
2. 14 . . . . ,
3. 14 . . . . ,
4. 1 bird . . . ,
5. 7 swans,
6. 15 cranes,
7. 7 birds . . . ,
8. 1 *bird* (?) . . .
9. with its 15 *eggs* (?),
10. 1 *tortoise* (?)
11. with its 30 *eggs* (?),
12. 40 garments of wool,
13. 7 garments of . . . ,
14. 1 garment of . . . ,
15. (such are) the offerings to the goddess BAU,
16. which in the new temple
17. Gudea,
18. the patesi
19. of SHIRPURLA,
20. the builder of the temple
21. has added.
22. The temple of the goddess BAU
23. having been restored,
24. its prosperity

## COLUMN VIII

1. having been assured ;
2. of the throne of SHIRPURLA
3. the foundation having been strengthened ;
4. for Gudea,
5. the patesi
6. of SHIRPURLA,
7. the sceptre of command
8. having been placed in the hand ;
9. of his life
10. the days having been prolonged ;
11. (then) his god
12. NIN-GISH-ZIDA

13. and the goddess BAU
14. into his temple of URU-AZAGGA
15. he has introduced.
16. In that year
17. from the mountains of the land of MÂGAN
18. he has caused a rare stone to be brought ;
19. for his statue
20. he has caused it to be cut.

## COLUMN IX

1. "O my mistress . . .
2. . . . .
3. . . . .!"
4. by this name he has named (the statue),
5. and in the temple he has placed it.
6. (This) statue
7. of the man who the temple of the goddess BAU
8. has constructed,
9. let no one from the place of its installation
10. remove it !
11. His prescriptions
12. let no one transgress !

NO. 6.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE F OF THE LOUVRE<sup>1</sup>

Cartouche on right shoulder.

1. Gudea,
2. the patesi
3. of SHIRPURLA,
4. the man of the goddess GATUMDUG.

## COLUMN I

1. To the goddess GATUMDUG,
2. the mother of SHIRPURLA,
3. Gudea
4. the patesi
5. of SHIRPURLA,

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 14.

6. the man of the goddess GATUMDUG,
7. thy favourite servant,
8. who has made the *dedicatory* (?) inscriptions,
9. (and) the temple of E-NINNŪ which illuminates the darkness (?),
10. (the temple) of the god NIN-GIRSU
11. (who) has constructed,
12. the goddess GATUMDUG
13. his lady,
14. who in SHIRPURLA,
15. her favourite city,
16. for the supreme rank (?)

## COLUMN II

1. has created him,
2. the temple of the goddess GATUMDUG
3. his lady
4. to construct
5. has given him the order.
6. Gudea
7. the patesi
8. of SHIRPURLA,
9. a man endowed with large intelligence,
10. a servant filled with reverential fear
11. for his mistress,
12. to make tablet-like *amulets* (?)
13. has *commanded* (?) ;
14. of the *ka-al*
15. he has caused the splendour to shine.
16. The clay (for the construction of the temple) in a pure place
17. he has caused to be taken ;
18. its bricks in a holy place
19. he has caused to be moulded.

## COLUMN III

1. Its site he has *cleansed* (?)
2. and *levelled* (?) ;
3. its foundation (?)

4. in the . . .
5. he has firmly established (?).
6. In URU-AZAGGA, in a pure place,
7. he has built the temple.
8. The holy throne of her divinity
9. he has made.
10. Her sacred *altar* (?)
11. he has made.
12. The oxen *il-la*<sup>1</sup>
13. he has formed into a herd,
14. their herdsman
15. he has established.
16. To the sacred cows
17. he has added sacred calves ;
18. their drover
19. he has established.
20. To the sacred sheep
21. he has added sacred lambs ;
22. their shepherd
23. he has established.
24. To the sacred she-goats
25. he has added sacred kids ;
26. their goatherd
27. he has established.
28. Each *herd* (?) of dams, whatever be the species,
29. with a *herd* (?) of younglings in addition
30. he has increased.
31. Their guardian
32. he has established.

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No. 7.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE G OF THE LOUVRE

COLUMN I

1. To the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. to his king,

<sup>1</sup> See W. A. I., i. 66, iii. 9.

5. Gudea
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA,
8. who the temple of E-NINNŪ
9. of the god NIN-GIRSU
10. has constructed,
11. for the god NIN-GIRSU
12. his king,
13. the temple of E-GHUD, the temple of the 7 stages,
14. this temple of E-GHUD,
15. from the summit whereof
16. the god NIN-GIRSU
17. dispenses favourable fortunes,
18. he has constructed.

## COLUMN II

1. (Besides) the offerings
2. which in the joy of his heart
3. to the god NIN-GIRSU
4. to the goddess BAU,
5. the daughter of ANNA,
6. his favourite wife,
7. he presented,
8. for his god
9. NIN-GISH-ZIDA
10. he has established others also.
11. Gudea
12. the patesi
13. of SHIRPURLA
14. from GIRSU-KI
15. to URU-AZAGGA
16. has proclaimed peace.
17. In that year,

## COLUMN III

1. from the mountains of the country of MĀGAN
2. he has caused a rare stone to be brought ;
3. for his statue
4. he has caused it to be cut.

*Here 10 lines have been left blank, it having been intended to fill them up with the name of the statue.*

5. On the day of the commencement of the year,
6. the festival of the goddess BAU,
7. when the offerings are presented,—
8. 1 ox *she*<sup>1</sup>
9. 1 sheep *ni*,<sup>2</sup>
10. 3 sheep *she*,

COLUMN IV

1. 6 sheep *ush*,<sup>3</sup>
2. 2 lambs,
3. 7 *pat* of dates,
4. 7 *shab* of cream,
5. 7 shoots of a palm,
6. 7 . . . . .
7. 7 . . . . .
8. 1 bird . . . . .
9. 7 swans,
10. 15 cranes,
11. 1 *bird* (?) . . . .
12. with its 15 *eggs* (?),
13. 1 *tortoise* (?)
14. with its 30 *eggs* (?),
15. 30 garments of wool,
16. 7 garments of . . .
17. 1 garment of . . . .
18. (such were) the offerings to the goddess BAU
19. in the ancient temple
20. on that day.
21. Gudea

COLUMN V

1. the patesi
2. of SHIRPURLA,
3. after that for his god NIN-GIRSU
4. his king

<sup>1</sup> ["Young" ?—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> ["Fat" ?—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> ["Male" ?—*Ed.*]

5. his favourite temple,
6. the temple of E-NINNŪ,
7. he had constructed,
8. (and after that) for the goddess BAU,
9. his mistress,
10. her favourite temple,
11. the temple of E-SIL-SIRSIRA
12. he had constructed,
13. 2 oxen *she*,
14. 2 sheep *ni*,
15. 10 sheep *she*,
16. 2 lambs,
17. 7 *pat* of dates,
18. 7 *shab* of cream,
19. 7 shoots of a palm,
20. 7 . . . . .
21. 7 . . . . .
22. 14 . . . . .

## COLUMN VI

1. 14 . . . . .
2. 1 bird . . . . .
3. 7 swans,
4. 10 cranes,
5. 7 birds . . . . .
6. 1 *bird* (?) . . . . .
7. with its 15 *eggs* (?),
8. 1 *tortoise* (?)
9. with its 30 *eggs* (?),
10. 40 garments of wool,
11. 7 garments of . . .
12. 1 garment of . . . .
13. (such are) the offerings to the goddess BAU
14. which in the new temple
15. Gudea
16. the patesi
17. of SHIRPURLA,
18. the constructor of the temple,
19. has added.



## No. 8.—INSCRIPTION ON STATUE II OF THE LOUVRE

## COLUMN I

1. To the goddess BAU,
2. the good lady,
3. the daughter of ANNA,
4. the mistress of URU-AZAGGA,
5. the mistress of abundance, the daughter of the  
bright sky,
6. to his mistress
7. Gudea
8. the patesi
9. of SHIRPURLA.

## COLUMN II

1. After that the temple of E-SIL-SIRSIRA,
2. her favourite temple,
3. the temple which is the marvel of URU-AZAGGA
4. he had caused to be constructed,
5. from the mountains of the country of MÂGAN,
6. a rare stone he has caused to be brought ;
7. for her statue
8. he has caused it to be cut.

## COLUMN III

1. "O divine daughter, beloved by the bright sky,
2. mother BAU,
3. in the temple of E-SIL-SIRSIRA
4. to Gudea
5. give life !"
6. by this name he has named (the statue),
7. and in the temple of URU-AZAGGA
8. he has placed it.

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INSCRIPTION ON A STONE SERVING AS THE THRESHOLD  
OF A DOOR <sup>1</sup>

1. For the god NIN-GIRSU,

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 27, No. 3.

2. the powerful warrior
  3. of the god ELLILLA,
  4. for his king,
  5. Gudea
  6. the patesi
  7. of SHIRPURLA
  8. has made the dedicatory inscriptions (?),
  9. (and) his temple of E-NINNÛ, which illumines the  
darkness,
  10. has constructed,
  11. and restored.
- 

INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO UNPUBLISHED VOTIVE TABLETS

I

1. For the goddess NINNI,
2. the mistress of the world,
3. for his mistress,
4. Gudea
5. the patesi
6. of SHIRPURLA
7. her temple of E-ANNA in GIRSU-KI
8. has constructed.

II

1. For the god GAL-ALIM,
  2. the favourite son
  3. of the god NIN-GIRSU,
  4. for his king,
  5. Gudea
  6. the patesi
  7. of SHIRPURLA
  8. his temple of E-ME-GHUSH-GAL-AN-KI
  9. has constructed.
- 

UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION ON A BRICK

1. For the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior

3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. for his king,
5. Gudea
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA
8. his temple of ENINNÛ, which illumines the darkness (?),
9. has constructed.
10. In the interior of this temple, a sanctuary of cedar wood,
11. the place of his oracles,
12. he has constructed for him.

INSCRIPTION ON A BRICK<sup>1</sup>

1. For the goddess NINÂ,
2. the lady of destinies (?),
3. the lady of oracles (?),
4. for his lady,
5. Gudea
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA
8. has made the dedicatory inscriptions (?).
9. In NINÂ-KI, her favourite city,
10. her temple of E-UD-MÂ-NINÂ-KI-TAG<sup>2</sup>
11. which rises from the *Kur-ê*<sup>3</sup>
12. he has constructed.

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 37, No. 3. See the inscription on a cone supposed to come from Zerghul (W. A. I. i. 5, No. xxiii. 2). The attributes in lines 2 and 3 of the cone oblige us to restore *dingir Ninâ*, "the goddess Ninâ," in the first line.

<sup>2</sup> ["The house of light which illuminates the ship of NINÂ-KI."—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> ["The mountain of the temple."—*Ed.*]

VIII. INSCRIPTIONS OF UR-NIN-GIRSU<sup>1</sup>No. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON A BRICK<sup>2</sup>

1. Ur-nin-girsu,
2. the priest of the god ANNA,
3. the priest of the god EN-KI,<sup>3</sup>
4. the favourite priest of the goddess NINÂ.

No. 2.—INSCRIPTION ON A BRICK<sup>4</sup>

1. To the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. for his king,
5. Ur-nin-girsu,
6. the patesi
7. of SHIRPURLA
8. the son of Gudea,
9. the patesi
10. of SHIRPURLA
11. who the temple of E-NINNÛ
12. of the god NIN-GIRSU
13. has constructed.
14. His favourite *gigunû*<sup>5</sup>
15. of cedar-wood
16. he has constructed for him.

<sup>1</sup> [“The creature of the god NIN-GIRSU.”—*Ed.*]<sup>2</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 37, No. 8.<sup>3</sup> [Or “Ea.”—*Ed.*]<sup>4</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 37, No. 9.<sup>5</sup> [Perhaps related to *gâgunû*, “a field.”—*Ed.*]

## IX. INSCRIPTION OF NAM-MAGHÂNI

ON A STONE FROM THE THRESHOLD OF A DOOR<sup>1</sup>

1. For the goddess BAU,
2. the good lady,
3. the daughter of ANNA,
4. the mistress of URU-AZAGGA,
5. his mistress,
6. Nam-maghâni,
7. the patesi
8. of SHIRPURLA,
9. her powerful minister,
10. as the stone of a threshold<sup>2</sup>
11. has made this.

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 27, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "the stone of the foundation of a gate."

## X. INSCRIPTION OF GHALA-LAMMA

ON THE FRAGMENT OF A STATUE<sup>1</sup>

## COLUMN I

1. [To the god . . .]RA,
2. [the daughter of the goddess] BAU
3. [for his] mistress,
4. [for] the life
5. [of Dun]gi,
6. [the] puissant [prince],

## COLUMN II

1. the king of UR,
2. the king of SHUMER and ACCAD,
3. Ghala-lamma,
4. the son of Lukâni,
5. the patesi
6. of SHIRPURLA.

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1886, pl. 7, No. 1.

## XI. INSCRIPTIONS OF DUNGI, KING OF UR

No. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON A TABLET<sup>1</sup>

1. For the god NIN-GIRSU,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god ELLILLA,
4. for his king,
5. Dungi
6. the puissant prince,
7. the king of UR,<sup>2</sup>
8. the king of SHUMER and ACCAD,<sup>3</sup>
9. the temple of E-NINNÛ
10. his favourite temple
11. has constructed.

No. 2.—INSCRIPTION ON A TABLET<sup>4</sup>

1. For the goddess NINÂ,
2. the lady of destinies (?),
3. the lady of oracles (?),
4. for his mistress,
5. Dungi
6. the puissant prince,
7. the king of UR,
8. the king of SHUMER and ACCAD,
9. the temple of E-SHISH-SHISH-E-MA-RA,
10. her favourite temple,
11. has constructed.

<sup>1</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 29, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> [Ur, the city of Abraham, now Mugheir.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> [Shumer and Accad were the southern and northern divisions of Babylonia, Accad taking its name from the city of Agade or Accad near Sippara.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Découvertes*, pl. 29, No. 4.

## THE ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGICAL CANON

BY THE EDITOR

CHRONOLOGICAL records were kept in Assyria by the help of certain officers called *limmi*, who corresponded to the eponymous archons of Greek history. At the beginning of each year a *limmu* or eponym was appointed, who gave his name to the year. In the age of the first Assyrian Empire it was customary for the king to commence his reign by taking the office; later, the year in which the king became eponym was regulated by no fixed rule. Shalmaneser II held the office twice during his long reign of thirty-five years—once in the first year of his reign and again in his thirtieth year. Otherwise there is no example of the same king being twice eponym. The system was of ancient origin. An inscription of Rimmon-nirari I, the great-grandson of Assur-yuballidh and the father of Shalmaneser I, is dated in the eponymy of a certain Shalmaneser who may have been his son. The date of Shalmaneser I is approximately determined by an inscription engraved on a seal belonging to his son



Tiglath-Uras I. The seal had been carried away to Babylon and there recovered by Sennacherib "600 years" afterwards, so that its deportation must have taken place about B.C. 1290. Whether it was carried away during the reign of Tiglath-Uras or after his death, we cannot say; in any case Shalmaneser—who, it may be added, was the builder of the city of Calah—would have lived before the close of the fourteenth century B.C.

Lists of eponyms drawn up in their chronological order were carefully kept, as well as other lists in which notice was taken of the principal events occurring during their term of office. Fragmentary copies of these lists have been preserved, thus enabling us to restore the chronology of the Assyrian Empire during the most important period of its existence. The copies were first brought to light by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who gave them the name of the Assyrian Canon, and pointed out their character and bearing on the vexed questions of chronology in the pages of the *Athenæum* (1862). Four of the copies have been published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii. pll. 52, 68, 69; and vol. iii. pl. 1. None of them is complete, but a comparison of the several texts supplies their individual deficiencies, and allows us to compile a continuous Assyrian chronology from B.C. 893, or 909 (if we accept Mr. George Smith's restoration), to B.C. 659. Two fixed dates are given within this period by the capture of Samaria B.C. 722, which took place in the

first year of the reign of Sargon, and the solar eclipse of the 15th of June B.C. 763, which occurred in the ninth year of the reign of Assur-dân III. A line drawn across the tablet marks the commencement of a new reign.

An exhaustive account of the Canon has been given by George Smith in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon* (Bagster and Sons), and a translation of it, with dates and notes attached, will be found in Prof. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, vol. ii. (English translation 1888); and *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i. (1889). Supplementary copies of the Canon from fragments in the British Museum have also been published by Prof. Fr. Delitzsch in the second edition of his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, and by Dr. Bezold in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for May 1889.

Two different versions of the Canon were current in Assyria, one containing merely a list of the eponyms in their chronological order, while the other added their titles and the principal events which distinguished their term of office. We may call the latter the Assyrian Chronicle.

## THE ASSYRIAN CANON

| B.C.                                     | B.C.                                    |
|--|---|
| 909. . . . pa <sup>1</sup>               | 890. Assur-la-yukin . . .               |
| 908. . . . mur                           |   |
| 907. . . . mu                            |   |
| 906. . . . iddin                         | 889. Tiglath-Uras <sup>4</sup> the king |
| 905. . . . tag-gil (?)                   | 888. Taggil-ana-beli-ya                 |
| 904. Muh (?) . . . ma                    | 887. Abu-A <sup>5</sup>                 |
| 903. Assur-dân . . .                     | 886. Ilu-milki <sup>6</sup>             |
| 902. Assur-sallim-ni . . .               | 885. Yarî                               |
| 901. Mas . . .                           | 884. Assur-sezib-ani <sup>7</sup>       |
| 900. Abu-iliya <sup>2</sup>              |   |
| 899. Assur-taggil (?)                    | 883. Assur - natsir - pal the           |
| 898. Assur . . .                         | king                                    |
|  | 882. Assur-iddin                        |
| <i>A break of four years<sup>3</sup></i> | 881. Bel-Sin (?) <sup>8</sup>           |
| 893. . . . sarra . . .                   | 880. Sa-same-damqa                      |
| 892. Uras-zar-ibni                       | 879. Dagon-bela-natsir                  |
| 891. Dhaba-edhir . . .                   | 878. Uras-pi-ya-utsur                   |

<sup>1</sup> From the form of the fragment on which this and the following twelve names are preserved, it has been conjectured by George Smith that the first year of the reign of Rimmon-nirari II, the father and predecessor of Tiglath-Uras II, was B.C. 911.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps Abu-A, like the eponym of B.C. 887.

<sup>3</sup> According to George Smith.

<sup>4</sup> Or Tiglath-Baru. He is the second king of the name known to us.

<sup>5</sup> Not Malik. For the god or goddess A, the wife of the Sun-god, see my Hibbert Lectures on *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp 177 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> The Biblical Elimelech, "El is Moloch."

<sup>7</sup> "O Assur save me!"

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the name is doubtful. It is differently written in the *Annals of Assur-natsir-pal*, ii. 49. Perhaps it should be pronounced Bel-aku.

| B.C.   | B.C.   |
|--|--|
| 877. Uras-bela-utsur                           | 849. Nergal-alik-pani                                      |
| 876. Sangu-Assur-lilbur <sup>1</sup>           | 848. Bur-Ramana <sup>3</sup>                               |
| 875. Samas-yupakhir <sup>2</sup>               | 847. Uras-mukin-nisi                                       |
| 874. Nergal-bel-kumua                          | 846. Uras-nadin-suma                                       |
| 873. Qurdi-Assur                               | 845. Assur-bani-pal-a                                      |
| 872. Assur-lih                                 | 844. Dhabu-Uras  |
| 871. Assur-natgil                              | 843. Taggil-ana-sarri                                      |
| 870. Bel-mudammiq                              | 842. Rimmon-rim-ani  |
| 869. Dâ-n-Uras                                 | 841. Belu-abua   |
| 868. Istar-it . . .                            | 840. Sulmu-bela-l'amur                                     |
| 867. Samas-nuri                                | 839. Uras-kib'si-utsur                                     |
| 866. Mannu-danan-ana-ila                       | 838. Uras-A  |
| 865. Samas-bela-utsur                          | 837. Qurdi-Assur   |
| 864. Uras-A                                    | 836. Ner-sarri <sup>4</sup>                                |
| 863. Uras-edhir-anni                           | 835. Nergal-mudammiq                                       |
| 862. Assur-A                                   | 834. Yakhâlu   |
| 861. Nergal-kakka(?)-danin                     | 833. Ululâ <sup>5</sup>                                    |
| 860. Dhabu-Belu                                | 832. Surru-pati-beli                                       |
| 859. Sarru-nes-nisi                            | 831. Nergal-A  |
|  | 830. Khubâ   |
|  | 829. Ilu-kin-akha  |
| 858. Sulmanu-asaridu (Shalmaneser II) the king | 828. Sulmanu - asaridu <sup>6</sup> (Shalmaneser) the king |
| 857. Assur-bela-kainni                         | 827. Dâ-n-Assur  |
| 856. Assur-bani-pal-a-utsur                    | 826. Assur-bani-pal-a-utsur                                |
| 855. Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur                     | 825. Yakhâlu   |
| 854. Dâ-n-Assur                                | 824. Bel-bani-pal-a  |
| 853. Samas-abua                                |  |
| 852. Samas-bela-utsur                          | 823. Samas - Rimmon <sup>7</sup> the king                  |
| 851. Belu-bani-pal-a                           |  |
| 850. Khadi-lipusu                              |  |

<sup>1</sup> "May the priest of Assur live long!"

<sup>2</sup> Also given as Samas-yubla.

<sup>3</sup> Also written Bir-Raman (Bir-Rimmon).

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps Ner-Istar.

<sup>5</sup> "(Born) in the month Elul."

<sup>6</sup> Shalmaneser was twice eponym.

<sup>7</sup> "The Sun-god is Rimmon," like the name of Hadad-Rimmon, "Hadad is Rimmon," in Zech. xii. 11.

B.C.  
 822. Yakhalu  
 821. Bel-dân  
 820. Uras-yubla  
 819. Samas-A  
 818. Nergal-A  
 817. Assur-bani-pal-a-utsur  
 816. Sarru-patî-beli  
 815. Bel-baladh  
 814. Musiknis  
 813. Nergal-(utsur)  
 812. Samas-kumua  
 811. Bel-qati-tsabat

---

810. Rimmon - nirari the  
king

809. Nergal-A  
 808. Belu-dân  
 807. Tsil-beli  
 806. Assur-taggil  
 805. . . . .  
 804. Nergal-esses  
 803. Assur-nes-nisi  
 802. Uras-A  
 801. Ner-Istar  
 800. Merodach-isip<sup>1</sup>-anni  
 799. Mutaggil-Merodach  
 798. Bel-tartsi-same  
 797. Assur-bela-utsur  
 796. Merodach-sadû-ni

B.C.  
 795. Kin-abûa  
 794. Mannu-kî-Assur  
 793. Musallim-Uras  
 792. Bel-qaisâni  
 791. Ner-Samas  
 790. Uras-kin-akha  
 789. Rimmon-musammir  
 788. Tsil-Istari  
 787. Baladhu<sup>2</sup>  
 786. Rimmon-yuballidh<sup>3</sup>  
 785. Merodach-sarra-utsur  
 784. Nebo-sarra-utsur<sup>3</sup>  
 783. Uras-natsir  
 782. Samu-lih

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781. Sulmanu-asaridu<sup>4</sup> the  
king

780. Samsi-ilu<sup>5</sup>  
 779. Merodach-rim-ani  
 778. Bel-esir  
 777. Nebo-iski-ya-yukin  
 776. Pan-Assuri-la-khabal<sup>6</sup>  
 775. Nergal-esses  
 774. Istar-duru  
 773. Mannu-ki-Rimmon  
 772. Assur-bela-utsur

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771. Assur-dân the king

<sup>1</sup> The ideograph *khal* represents *asâpu*, "to prophesy" or "divine." See the name of the eponym for B.C. 670.

<sup>2</sup> According to other lists, Nebo-sarra-utsur. The proper eponym of the year may have died during his term of office, and a supplementary eponym appointed in his place.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in the Chronicle.

<sup>4</sup> Shalmaneser III.

<sup>5</sup> "The Sun-god is El" or "god," like Jiphthah-el in Josh. xix. 14, or the Palestinian town of Ya'aqab-el ("Jacob is El," ? Hebron) and Yeseph-el ("Joseph is El"), mentioned by the Egyptian king Thothmes III.

<sup>6</sup> Or more probably Pan-Assur-la'mur, "I see not the face of Assur;" cf. Exodus xxxiii. 20.

| B.C.                                | B.C.                          |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 770. Samsi-ilu                      | 744. Bel-dân                  |
| 769. Bel-A                          | _____ 7                       |
| 768. Abla-a <sup>1</sup>            |                               |
| 767. Qurdi-Assur                    | 743. Tiglath-pileser the king |
| 766. Musallim-Uras                  | 742. Nebo-danin-anni          |
| 765. Uras-mukin-nisi                | 741. Bel - Kharran - bela-    |
| 764. Tsidqi-ilu <sup>2</sup>        | utsur <sup>8</sup>            |
| 763. Isid-Raki's-rabe               | 740. Nebo-edhir-anni          |
| 762. Dhabu-Bel                      | 739. Sin-taggil               |
| 761. Nebo-kin-akhi                  | 738. Rimmon-bela-yukin        |
| 760. Laqibu                         | 737. Bel-emur-anni            |
| 759. Pan-Assur-l'amur               | 736. Uras-A                   |
| 758. Ana-beli-taggil <sup>3</sup>   | 735. Assur-sallim-anni        |
| 757. Uras-iddin                     | 734. Bel-dân                  |
| 756. Bel-sadûa                      | 733. Assur-danin-anni         |
| 755. Iqi'su <sup>4</sup>            | 732. Nebo-bela-utsur          |
| 754. Uras-sezib-ani                 | 731. Nergal-yuballidh         |
|                                     | 730. Bel-ludari               |
|                                     | 729. Napkhar-ilu              |
|                                     | 728. Dur-Assur                |
|                                     | _____                         |
| 753. Assur-nirari the king          | 727. Bel-Kharran-bela-utsur   |
| 752. Samsi-ilu                      | 726. Merodach-bela-utsur      |
| 751. Merodach-sallim-anni           | 725. Makhde                   |
| 750. Bel-dân                        | 724. Assur-isip-anni          |
| 749. Samas-mukin-duruk              | 723. Sumanu - asaridu (the    |
| 748. Rimmon-bela-yukin <sup>5</sup> | king)                         |
| 747. Sin-sallim-anni                | _____                         |
| 746. Nergal-natsir                  |                               |
|                                     |                               |
| 745. Nebo-bela-utsur                |                               |
| _____ 6                             |                               |

<sup>1</sup> "(He is) my son."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Zadkiel., Comp. the Hebrew name Zedekiah.

<sup>3</sup> Also written Beli-taggil, "he trusts in Bel."

<sup>4</sup> Also written Qi'su.

<sup>5</sup> Also written Assur-bela-yukin.

<sup>6</sup> The line is drawn here by List IV.

<sup>7</sup> The line is drawn here by Lists II and III. Probably Tiglath-pileser III seized the crown in B.C. 745, but was not universally recognised as king until B.C. 743.

<sup>8</sup> "O Bel of Harran (Genesis xi. 31) protect the lord."



| B.C.                             | B.C.  |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 674. Sarru-nuri                  | Nebo-sar-akhi-su, pre-<br>fect of Samaria   |
| 673. Atar-ilu <sup>1</sup>       | Samas - danin - anni,<br>prefect of Babylon |
| 672. Nebo-bil-utsur              | Sin-sarra-utsur, scribe<br>of the land      |
| 671. Dhebitâ <sup>2</sup>        | Sin-sarra-utsur, pre-<br>fect of Khindana   |
| 670. Sallimmu-bela-la'ssip       | Bulludhu                                    |
| 669. Samas-kasid-âbi             | Rimmon-rim-ani                              |
| 668. Mar-la'rme                  | Nebo - sarra - utsur,<br>scribe of the land |
| 667. Gabbaru                     | Assur-mata-itsmad                           |
| 666. . . . â                     | Musallim-Assur, pre-<br>fect of Alikhi      |
|                                  | Mannu-ki-akhi, pre-<br>fect of Simyra       |
|                                  | Nebo-bela-iddin                             |
|                                  | Nebo - danin - anni,<br>governor of Que     |
|                                  | Assur-danin-sarri                           |
|                                  | Assur-rim-ani                               |
|                                  | Assur-gimil-turri                           |
|                                  | Yupaqa-ana-Arbail                           |
|                                  | Rubu-sarra-iqbi, the<br>tartan of Komagene  |
|                                  | Zamama-erba                                 |
|                                  | Merodach-sarra-utsur,<br>governor of Que    |
|                                  | Nuru  |
|                                  | Bel-sap(?)-anni                             |
| <i>Lacuna.</i>                   |   |
| ? 663. <sup>3</sup> Bel-Nahid    |   |
| ? 662. Dhabu-sar-Sin             |   |
| ? 661. Arbailâ <sup>4</sup>      |   |
| ? 660. Girzabuna                 |   |
| ? 659. 'Silim-Assur <sup>5</sup> |   |
| . . . . .                        |   |
| ? Sa-Nebo-sû <sup>6</sup>        |   |
| ? Laba'si                        |   |
| ? Milki-ramu                     |   |
| ? Amyânu                         |   |
| ? Assur-natsir                   |   |
| ? Assur-A                        |   |
| ? Assur-dura-utsur               |   |
| ? 'Sa(?)gabbu                    |   |
| ? Bel-Kharran-sadûa              |   |
| ? Assur(?) - A <sup>7</sup>      |   |
| . . . . .                        |   |
| Bel-sunu, prefect of<br>Khindana |   |

<sup>1</sup> "Atar is EL." Atar or Athar, as Schrader has shown, was the name of the goddess of the North Arabian tribe of Kedar, and enters into that of Atar-samain or "Athar of heaven" mentioned by Assur-bani-pal.

<sup>2</sup> "Born in the month of Tebet."

<sup>3</sup> The date is taken from George Smith.

<sup>4</sup> "The Arbelite."

<sup>5</sup> List I. ends here. The names which follow are derived from List III.

<sup>6</sup> Assigned to the year B.C. 656 by George Smith.

<sup>7</sup> List III ends here. The names which follow are derived by George Smith from various dated documents.



B. C.

Nebo-nadin-akhi  
 Sarru-nahid  
 Nebo-zaqap  
 Assur-garua-niri

B. C.

Barku<sup>1</sup>-rim-ani  
 Daddi <sup>2</sup>  
 Sin-alik-pani

<sup>1</sup> "Rimmon have mercy on me," Barku or Barqu, "the lightning," the Hebrew Baraq, being a name of Rimmon.

<sup>2</sup> Daddi, whose name indicates his Syrian origin, was eponym in the reign of Sin-sar-iskun, one of the last kings of Assyria.

## THE ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE

B.C.

858. Shalmaneser king of ASSYRIA ; (campaign) against [the land of] . . .
857. Assur-bela-kain the tartan ;<sup>1</sup> . . .
856. Assur-bani-aplâ-utsur the Rab-BI-LUL ;<sup>2</sup> . . .
855. Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur the governor of the palace ; . . .
854. Dân-Assur the tartan ; . . .
853. Samas-abûa the prefect of the city NA'SIBNA ;<sup>3</sup> . . .
852. Samas-bela-utsur of the city of CALAH ; . . .
851. Bel-bani-pal-a the governor of the palace ; . . .
850. Khadî-lipusu of the city of . . . ; . . .
840. [Sallimmu-bela-l'amur] of the river of 'SUKHINA ; against the land of [QU]E.
839. [Uras-kib'si-utsur] of the city of RATSAPPA (Rezep) ; against the land of MA(?) . . KHI.
838. [Uras-A] of the river of 'SUKHINA ; against the land of DANABI.
837. [Qurdi-Assur] of the city of SALLAT ; against the country of TABALI (Tubal).
836. [Ner-sarri] of the country of [KIR]RURI ; against the land of MELIDI (Malatiyeh).
835. [Nergal-mudammiq] of NINEVEH ; against the land of NAMRI.
834. [Yakhâlu] the seer ; against the land of QUE.
833. [Ululâ] of the city of [KAL]ZI ; against the land of QUE.
832. [Sarru-patî-beli] . . . ; against the land of QUE ; the great god went to the city of DIRI.

<sup>1</sup> *Turtanu*, "commander-in-chief ;" see Isaiah xx. 1, 2 Kings xviii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "the chief of the cup-bearers."

<sup>3</sup> Nisibis.

B.C.

831. [Nergal-A] of [NISIB]IS ; against the land of ARARAT.  
 830. [Khubbâ] of the city of [CAL]AH ; against the land of  
 UNQI.  
 829. [Ilu-kin-akha] of [ARBA]KHA ; against the land of  
 ULLUBA.  
 828. [Shalmaneser the king] ; against the land of the  
 MANNÂ.  
 827. [Dân-Assur] . . . Insurrection.  
 826. [Assur-bani-pal-a-utsur] . . . Insurrection.  
 825. [Yakhâlu] . . . Insurrection.  
 824. [Bel-bani-pal-a] . . . Insurrection.

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823. [Samas-Rimmon the king]. Insurrection.  
 822. [Yakhâlu] . . . Insurrection.  
 817. [Assur-bani-aplâ-utsur] the Rab- . . . ; against the land  
 of TILLE.  
 816. [Sarru-patî-beli of the city of NI]SIBIS ; against the  
 land of ZARÂTI.  
 815. [Bel-baladh, the tartan?] ; against the city of DIRI ;  
 the great god went to the city of DIRI.  
 814. [Musiknis of the land of] KIRRURI ; against the land  
 of AKH'SANA.  
 813. [Nergal-utsur of] SALLAT (?) ; against the land of the  
 KALDI.<sup>1</sup>  
 812. [Samas-kumua of] ARBAKHA ;<sup>2</sup> against Babylon.  
 811. [Bel-qati-tsabat of the city of] MAZAMUA ; in the  
 country.<sup>3</sup>

- 
810. [Rimmon-nirari king of] ASSYRIA ; against the land  
 of A.  
 809. [Nergal-A the] tartan ; against the city of GOZAN.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chaldeans, at this time a tribe in the marshes of Southern Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> Arrapkhitis.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the troops stayed at home ; no military expedition took place.

<sup>4</sup> On the river Khabour ; see 2 Kings xix. 12.

B.C.

808. [Belu-dân, the *ner* of] the palace; against the land of the MANNÂ.<sup>1</sup>
807. [Tsil-beli, the Rab-]BI-LUL; against the land of the MANNÂ.
806. [Assur-taggil] the seer;<sup>2</sup> against the land of ARPAD.
805. [. . . the . . .]; against the city of KHAZAZI.
804. [Nergal-esses of the country of] RATSAPPA;<sup>3</sup> against the city of BAHLI.
803. Assur-nes-nisi of the city of ARBAKHA; against the sea-coast. A pestilence.
802. Uras-A of the city on the banks of the ZUKHINA; against the city of KHUPUSKIA.
801. Ner-Istar of the city of NISIBIS; against the country of A.
800. Merodach-isip-anni of the city of ANEDI<sup>4</sup>; against the country of A.
799. Mutaggil-Merodach the Rab-shakeh;<sup>5</sup> against the city of LUSIA.
798. Bel-tartsi-same of the city of CALAH; against the country of NAMRI.
797. Assur-bela-utsur of the city of KIRRURI; against the city of MANTSUATE.
796. Merodach-sadûni of the city of SALLAT; against the city of DERI.
795. Kin-abûa of the city of TUSKHAN; against the city of DERI.
794. Mannu-kî-Assur of the city of GOZAN; against the country of A.

<sup>1</sup> The Minni of the Old Testament, the Manâ of the Vannic inscriptions, whose territory extended from the Kotur mountains, the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Ararat or Van, towards Lake Urumiyeh. The name has no connection with that of Van.

<sup>2</sup> *Abarakku*, from the Accadian *abrik*; in Genesis xli. 43 Joseph is called *abrek*, a word erroneously supposed to be of Egyptian origin. See my Hibbert Lectures on *Babylonian Religion*, p. 183, where, however, I have erroneously translated *abrikku* or *abarakku* "vizier." Joseph's cup of divination is referred to in Genesis xlv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Rezech of Isaiah xxxvii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Amida, now Diarbekir.

<sup>5</sup> *Rab-saki*, "the chief of the princes," or Vizier.

B.C.

793. Musallim-Uras of the city of TILLE; against the country of A.
792. Bel-qais-âni of the city of MEKHINIS; against the land of KHUPUSKIA.
791. Ner-Samas of the city of I'SANA; against the land of ITUHA.
790. Uras-kin-akha of the city of NINEVEH; against the land of A.
789. Rimmon-musammir of the city of KALZI; against the land of A. The foundation of the temple of NEBO in NINEVEH [was laid].
788. Tsil-Istari of the city of . . . ; against the land of KI-?-KI. NEBO [entered] the (new) temple.
787. Nebo-sarra-utsur of the city of . . . . . [against the land of KHUPUSKIA.] The great god entered the city of DERI.
785. Merodach-sarra-utsur of the city of KURBAN; against the land of KHUPUSKIA.
783. Uras-natsir of the city of MAZAMUA; against the land of ITUHA.
782. Samu-lih of the city of NISIBIS; against the land of ITUHA.

- 
781. Shalmaneser king of ASSYRIA; against the land of ARARAT.
780. Samsi-ilu the tartan; against the country of ARARAT.
779. Merodach-rim-ani the Rab-BI-LUL; against the land of ARARAT.
778. Bel-esir [the governor] of the palace; against the land of ARARAT.
777. Nebo-isdi-ya-yukin the seer; against the country of ITUHA.
776. [Pan-Assuri-l'amur of] the (ASSYRIAN) country;<sup>1</sup> against the land of ARARAT.
775. [Nergal-esses of the country of] RATSAPPA; against the country of ERINI.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps "the prefect" (*saladh*).<sup>2</sup> "The country of the cedar-trees," *i.e.* Mount Amanus.

B.C.

774. [Istar-duru of the city of] NISIBIS; against the countries of ARARAT and NAMRI.  
 773. [Mannu-ki-Rimmon of] the (ASSYRIAN) country; against the city of DAMASCUS.  
 772. [Assur-bela-utsur of the city of] CALAH; against the country of KHATARIKA.<sup>1</sup>
- 

771. Assur-dân the king of ASSYRIA; against the city of GANANÂTI.  
 770. Samsi-ilu the tartan; against the city of MARAD.  
 769. Bel-A of the city of ARBAKHA; against the country of ITUHA.  
 768. Abila-ya of the city of MAZAMUA; at home.  
 767. Qurdi-Assur of the city on the banks of the ZUKHINA; against the country of GANNANATI.  
 766. Musallim-Uras of the city of TILE; against the country of A.  
 765. Uras-mukin-nisi of the country of KIRRURI; against the country of KHATARIKA. A pestilence.  
 764. Tsidqi-ilu of the country of TUSKHAN; at home.
- 

763. Isid-Raki's-rabe of the city of GOZAN. Insurrection in the city of ASSUR. In the month Sivan the sun was eclipsed.<sup>2</sup>  
 762. Dhabu-Bel of the city of AMEDI; insurrection in the city of ASSUR.  
 761. Nebo-kin-akhi of the city of NINEVEH; insurrection in the city of ARBAKHA.  
 760. Laqipu of the city of KALZI; insurrection in the city of ARBAKHA.  
 759. Pan-Assur-l'amur of the city of ARBELA; insurrection in the city of GOZAN. A pestilence.  
 758. Ana-beli-taggil of the city of I'SANA; against the city of GOZAN. Peace in the country (of ASSYRIA).  
 757. Uras-iddin of the city of KURBAN; at home.

<sup>1</sup> The Hadrach of Zech. ix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The eclipse was visible at Nineveh on the 15th of June.

B.C.

756. Bel-sadûa of the city of PARNUNNA (?); at home.
755. Iqi'su of the city of MEKHINIS; against the country<sup>1</sup> of KHATARIKA.
754. Uras-sezib-ani [of the city] of RIMU'SI; against the country<sup>1</sup> of ARPAD. From the city of ASSUR a return.
- 
753. Assur-[nirari king of] ASSYRIA; at home.
752. Samsi[-ilu the tar]tan; at home.
751. Merodach-[sallim-anni the governor] of the palace; at home.
750. Bel-[dân the Rab-]BI-LUL; at home.
749. Samas-[mukin-duruk the] seer; against the land of NAMRI.
748. [Rimmon-bela-yukin], an ASSYRIAN<sup>2</sup>; against the land of NAMRI.
- 
747. [Sin-sallim-anni of the country] of RATSAPPA; in the country.
746. [Nergal-natsir of the] city of NISIBIS; insurrection in the city of CALAH.
- 
745. [Nebo-bela-utsur of the city of ARBAKHA; on the 13th day of the month Iyyar Tiglath-pileser ascended the throne; in the month Tisri he marched to the river [EUPHRATES].
744. [Bel-dân] of the city of CALAH; against the land of NAMRI.
743. The king of ASSYRIA; in the city of ARPAD. The troops of the land of ARARAT were slaughtered.
742. [Nebo-danin-anni] the tartan; against the city of ARPAD.
741. [Bel-Kharran-bela-utsur] the governor of the palace; against the same city. After three years' (siege) it was captured.
740. [Nebo-edhir-anni] the Rab-BI-LUL; against the city of ARPAD.

<sup>1</sup> "City" in another copy.<sup>2</sup> Or "the prefect."

B.C.

739. [Sin-taggil] the seer; against the land of ULLUBA. The city of BIRTU was *taken* (?).<sup>1</sup>
738. [Rimmon-bela-yukin] an ASSYRIAN;<sup>2</sup> (the king) captures the city of KULLANI.<sup>3</sup>
737. [Bel-emur-anni] of RATSAPPA; against the land of A.
736. [Uras-A] of NISIBIS; against the foot of Mount NAAL.
735. [Assur-sallim-anni] of the country of ARBAKHA; against the land of ARARAT.
734. [Bel-dân] of CALAH; against the land of PILISTA.<sup>4</sup>
733. [Assur-danin-anni] of the city of MAZAMUA; against the land of DAMASCUS.
732. [Nebo-bela-utsur] of the city of 'SIHME; against the land of DAMASCUS.
731. [Nergal-yuballidh] of the city on the banks of the ZUKHINA; against the city of SAPIYA.
730. [Bel-ludari] of the city of TILE; at home.
729. [Napkhar-îlu] of the land of KIRRURI; the king took the hands of BEL.<sup>5</sup>
728. [Dur-Assur] of the city of TUSKHAN; the king took the hands of BEL; the city of DI(RI) . . .

- 
727. [Bel-Kharran-bela-utsur] of [Go]ZAN; against the city of . . . [Shalman]eser [ascended] the throne.
726. [Merodach-bela-utsur] of AME]DI; at [home].
725. [Makhdê] of NINEVEH; against . . .
724. [Assur-isip-anni] of KAL]ZI; against . . .
723. [Shalmaneser king of] ASSYRIA; against . . .

- 
716. [Dhabu-tsil-Ê-sarra] . . . against the city of the MANNÂ.
715. [Taggil-ana-Bela] . . . prefects were appointed.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot explain the grammatical construction of *tsablat*.

<sup>2</sup> Or "the prefect."

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Calneh of Genesis x. 10; Isaiah x. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The Philistines.

<sup>5</sup> This ceremony was performed at Babylon, and implied that the king was recognised as legitimate sovereign of Babylonia.



B. C.

714. [Istar-dur] . . . the city of MUZAZIR of the (god) KHALDIA [was captured].
713. [Assur-bani] . . . the great . . . in the country of ILLIPA; the god . . . entered the new [temple].
712. [Sarru-emur-anni] . . . the city of MUZAZIR.
711. [Uras-alik-pani] . . . ; at home.
710. [Samas-bela-utsur] . . . ; against the city of MARQA'SA.
709. Mannu-ki-Assur-lih . . . ; against the city of BIT-ZIRI; the king poured out a sacrificial libation in the city of KIS . . . Sargon took the hands of BEL.
708. [Samas-yupakhkhir of KIRRU]RI; the city of KUMUKH was conquered; a prefect was appointed (over it).
707. Sa-Assur-dubbu the prefect of TUSKHAN; the king made a pilgrimage to BABYLON. [Its] temples and [palaces] he restored. On the 22d day of the month Tisri the gods of the city of DUR-YAKIN<sup>1</sup> were brought forth.
706. Mutaggil-Assur the prefect of GOZAN; the king destroyed the city of DUR-YAKIN the 6th day of the month Iyyar. To their temples [the gods] returned.
705. Yupakhkhir-Bel the prefect of AMEDI . . . Mukh(?)kaespai the KULUMMITE in the country of KARALLA . . . A soldier murdered the king of ASSYRIA. . . . On the 12th day of the month Ab Sennacherib [ascended the throne].

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704. Nebo-dini-epus the governor of NINEVEH . . . the cities of LARAK and 'SARABANU [were captured?]. A palace was built in the city of KALZI. . . .

<sup>1</sup> According to the text published in W. A. I. ii. 69, Dur-Sargon (now Khorsabad). The text published by Dr. Bezold, however (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xi. 7), gives Dur-yakin, the ancestral capital of Merodach-baladan in the southern marshes of Babylonia.

## THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL

BY THE EDITOR

THIS long inscription of Assur-natsir-pal, inscribed in various forms across the bas-reliefs of his palace, ranks next in geographical importance to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. Assur-natsir-pal reigned from B.C. 883 to B.C. 858, more than 200 years after his illustrious predecessor. But this interval of 200 years was almost a blank in the history of Assyria. It witnessed the rise of no great king or conqueror; indeed it would seem that the feeble successors of Tiglath-Pileser lost territory rather than gained it. With Assur-natsir-pal, however, a new era commenced. Once more the armies of Nineveh went forth to conquer, and once more it was towards the north and the west that their marches were usually directed. The Armenian kingdoms on the north, Carchemish and Syria to the west, were the main objects of attack.

Tiglath-Pileser had been unable to penetrate beyond the Hittite fortress of Carchemish, and force the fords of the Euphrates which it protected. If he made his way further to the west it was along the

northern range of mountains which led him into Kilikia or to the fertile plain of Malatiyeh. But Assur-natsir-pal was attended with better fortune. The merchant princes of Carchemish had in his day lost their ancient prowess and military spirit, and they were glad to buy off the threatened attack of the Assyrians with a rich bribe. Assur-natsir-pal left Carchemish in his rear and pressed onward towards Phœnicia and the Mediterranean coast. In the time of his son and successor Shalmaneser II, Assyria has already entered within the horizon of the western nations, and has come into contact, not only with the kings of Damascus, but with the kings of Israel as well.

The annals of Assur-natsir-pal present us with an invaluable picture of Western Asia in the ninth century before our era, before Assyrian conquest had as yet changed the political map of the country. It is interesting to compare it with the picture presented by the annals of Tiglath-Pileser two centuries earlier. It is chiefly in the Armenian highlands that a change has taken place, or, it may be, is in process of taking place. The land of Nahri or "the rivers" of Tiglath-Pileser has shifted its position and has passed from the districts at the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates to the southern shores of Lake Van.<sup>1</sup> The rise of the kingdom of Ararat or Van, which was destined to play a considerable part in the future history of Western Asia, was, it would appear, the immediate

<sup>1</sup> See the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. p. 106, note 7.

consequence of the campaigns of Assur-natsir-pal in the north. The cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia begin with Sari-duris I, the antagonist of Shalmaneser II, the son and successor of Assur-natsir-pal, and are not only written in the syllabary of Nineveh, but are modelled on the inscriptions of the Assyrian king. As the city of Dhuspas or Van was founded by Sari-duris, while his father Lutipri is never given the title of king, it is probable that he was the founder of a new dynasty as well as of a new kingdom. At all events Arrame, who appears in the annals of Shalmaneser as the predecessor of Sari-duris, had his capital at Arzaskun, to the west of Lake Van and at a long distance from what was afterwards the central point of the kingdom of Ararat. The wars of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser not only introduced Assyrian civilisation into the north, but also resulted in the union of a number of small principalities into a single monarchy, which, under the varying names of Ararat and Armenia, long continued to fill an important place in Asiatic history.

On the whole, however, when the veil which lies for two centuries over the map of Western Asia is lifted, we see that few changes have taken place in it. On the east the Kurdish mountains are still held by wild and independent tribes, who form a barrier between the inhabitants of the valley of the Tigris and the Aryan population of Media. South of them comes the ancient and cultured kingdom of Elam, stretching from its capital of Susa to the shores of

the Persian Gulf. The valley of the Euphrates is occupied by the Babylonian monarchy, whose history and civilisation mount back into the night of time, and whose armies had penetrated to the shores of the Mediterranean, and even to the distant island of Cyprus, ages before the very name of Assyria had been known. The western bank of the Euphrates is the home of the Bedouin 'Sukhi or Shuhites, who extend from the vicinity of Carchemish to the frontiers of Babylonia; and the intervening district of Mesopotamia is filled with flourishing cities, each governed by a prince who claims jurisdiction over a small tract of surrounding country. They all belong to the Semitic family, and to the north press hard upon the Hittites, who are already in full retreat towards their old homes in the Taurus mountains. Carchemish, however, now Jerablûs, with its command of the caravan trade from east to west, is still in their hands.

Westward of them are the Patinians, a tribe of Hittite origin, whose territory stretches from Khazaz (now Azaz), near Aleppo, across the Afrin to Mount Amanus, with its forests of cedars, and to the shores of the Gulf of Antioch. But south of the Patinians we are again among the Semites. The sea coast is held by the wealthy trading cities of the Phœnicians, foremost among them being Arvad and Gebal, Sidon and Tyre; while Syria proper is divided into two kingdoms, that of Hamath, which has ceased to be Hittite, and that of Damascus. Damascus had risen upon the ruins of David's empire, which for a brief

space had extended from the Gulf of Aqabah to the banks of the Euphrates. With Damascus, Samaria was brought into close relation, sometimes friendly, but more usually hostile. Its first mention on the Assyrian monuments, however, is in connection with the battle of Qarqar in B.C. 853, when "Ahab of Israel" sent a contingent to the help of Hadadezer or Ben-hadad against his Assyrian assailants.

The wars of Assur-natsir-pal, like most of those of the first Assyrian empire, did not lead to permanent conquest or annexation. They were little more than raids, carried on partly for the sake of plunder, partly in order to exalt the glory and power of the great god Assur, partly to open a road to the west for the merchants of Nineveh. It is possible also that the wars against the hardy mountaineers of Kurdistan or Armenia were intended to prevent the latter from descending into the fields of Assyria and disturbing their more peaceful neighbours. It was not until the rise of the second Assyrian empire, until the age of Tiglath-Pileser III, of Sargon and of Sennacherib, that Assyrian conquest meant absorption into a single great organised power.

Assur-natsir-pal, whose name signifies "Assur has defended the son," was the son and successor of Tiglath-Uras II, and was himself succeeded by his son Shalmaneser after a reign of twenty-five years. His "Standard Inscription" proved of high value in the early days of cuneiform decipherment, on account of the numerous variants presented by the different

copies of it which we possess. It has been partly published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, pll. I-II, and more fully and accurately in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. i. pll. 17-26.

The translation of it given in the first series of *Records of the Past* (vol. iii. pp. 37-80) belongs to the earlier days of Assyrian study, and it has therefore become necessary to replace it by one more accurate and trustworthy. Not only is it now possible to identify the chief localities mentioned in the text, but the progress of Assyrian philology has also made it possible to translate the text with a precision which fifteen years ago was unattainable. Like most of the historical inscriptions, it now offers but few words the rendering of which is doubtful. And its geographical importance and historical interest alike make it desirable that the student who is not an Assyriologist should possess the text in a trustworthy form. A translation of the introductory lines has been published by Lhotzky, *Die Annalen Assurnazirpal's* (Munich, 1884), and the whole inscription has been translated by Dr. Peiser in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1889), vol. i. pp. 51-129.

## THE ANNALS OF ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL

### COLUMN I

1. TO URAS, the strong, the almighty, the supreme, the firstborn of the gods, the lusty warrior, the unique one, whose onset in battle is unrivalled, the
2. eldest son, the crusher of opposition, the firstborn of EA, the powerful warrior of the angels (*Igigi*), the counsellor of the gods, the offspring of the temple of the earth,<sup>1</sup> the binder of the bonds
3. of heaven and earth, the opener of fountains, who treads down the widespreading earth, the god without whom the laws of heaven and earth are unmade,
4. the strong *champion* (?) who changes not the command of his mouth, the firstborn of the zones, the giver of the sceptre and law to all cities, the forceful
5. minister, the utterance of whose lips alters not, in power far-reaching, the augur of the gods, the exalted one, the meridian Sun-god, the lord of lords, who the extremities of heaven
6. (and) earth superintends with his hand, the king of battle, the illustrious one who overcomes opposition, the sovereign, the unique one, the lord of fountains and seas,

<sup>1</sup> *E-kur*, opposed to *E-sarra*, the temple of the firmament. It represented the earth and the lower world, and so became synonymous with *Aralu* or Hades. Temples were built after the supposed likeness of this "temple of the earth," and the name consequently came to signify a "temple" in general. Uras was the messenger of Mul-lil "the lord of the ghost-world," worshipped at Nipur or Niffer, and identified by the Semites with their supreme Bel. His connection with the ghost-world or Hades explains why Uras should be called "the offspring of the temple of the earth."



7. the strong, the unsparing, whose onset is the deluge that sweeps away the land of the enemy, the slayer of the wicked, the lusty god whose counsel is unchanging,
8. the light of heaven (and) earth, the illuminator of the recesses of the deep, the destroyer of the evil, the subduer of the disobedient, the uprooter of the hostile, whose name in the assembly of the gods
9. no god has changed, the giver of life, the god of mercy to whom prayer is good, who dwells in CALAH,<sup>1</sup> the great lord, my lord; [I] Assur-natsir-pal the powerful king,
10. the king of hosts, the king unrivalled, the king of all the four regions (of the world), the Sun-god of multitudes of men, the favourite of BEL<sup>2</sup> and URAS, the beloved of ANU
11. and DAGON,<sup>3</sup> the hero of the great gods who bows himself (in prayer), the beloved of thy heart, the prince, the favourite of BEL whose high-priesthood
12. has seemed good to thy great divinity so that thou hast established his reign, the warrior hero who has marched in the service of ASSUR his lord, and among the princes
13. of the four regions (of the world) has no rival, the shepherd of fair shows who fears not opposition, the unique one,<sup>4</sup> the mighty, who has not
14. an opponent, the king who subdues the unsubmissive, who has overcome all the multitudes of men, the powerful hero, who treads
15. upon the neck of his enemies, who tramples upon all that is hostile, who breaks in pieces the squadrons

<sup>1</sup> Now represented by the mounds of Nimrūd at the junction of the Upper or Great Zab and the Tigris.

<sup>2</sup> This is Bel of Nipur, the Accadian Mul-lil, not the younger Bel-Merodach of Babylon.

<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian Dagon was a word of Accadian origin meaning "exalted." He was usually associated with Anu the sky-god, and the worship of both was carried as far west as Canaan. Anat, the wife of Anu, gave her name to the Canaanite town of Beth-Anath (Josh. xix. 38).

<sup>4</sup> *Edû*, which of course does not mean "a flood" here.

- of the mighty, who in reliance on the great gods,  
his lords,
16. has marched, and whose hand has conquered all lands,  
has overcome the mountains to their furthest bounds,  
and has received their tribute, who has taken
  17. hostages, who has established empire over all lands.  
At that time ASSUR the lord, the proclaimer of my  
name, the enlarger of my kingdom,
  18. entrusted his weapon that spares not to the hands of  
my lordship, (even to me) Assur-natsir-pal the ex-  
alted prince, the adorer of the great
  19. gods, the mighty monster,<sup>1</sup> the conqueror of cities and  
mountains to their furthest bounds, the king of  
lords, the consumer of the violent, who is crowned  
with
  20. terror, who fears not opposition, the valiant one, the  
supreme judge who spares not, who overthrows  
resistance, the king of all princes,
  21. the lord of lords, the shepherd-prince, the king of kings,  
the exalted prophet, named by URAS the warrior-  
god (and) hero of the great gods, the avenger of his  
fathers,
  22. the king who has marched with justice in reliance  
on ASSUR and SAMAS,<sup>2</sup> the gods his helpers, and  
powerful countries and princes his foemen
  23. he has cast down like a reed (and) has subjugated all  
their lands under his feet, the supplier of the free-  
will offerings for the great
  24. gods, the established prince, who is provident to direct  
the laws of the temples of his country, the work of  
whose hands and
  25. the gift of whose sacrifices the great gods of heaven and  
earth desire and have established his high-priest-  
hood in the temples for ever ;
  26. their strong weapons have they given for the spoil of  
my lordship ; the terror of his weapon, the glory of  
his lordship, over the kings

<sup>1</sup> *Usumgal*, a fabulous beast which was supposed to devour the corpses of the dead. Comp. Isaiah xiii. 21, 22 ; xxxiv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The Sun-god.

27. of the four regions (of the world) have they made strong  
for him ; the enemies of ASSUR to their furthest  
bounds above and below he has combated, and  
tribute and gifts
28. he has laid upon them ; (he), the conqueror of the foes  
of ASSUR, the powerful king, the king of ASSYRIA,  
the son of Tiglath-Uras, the high priest of ASSUR,  
who upon all his foemen
29. has laid the yoke, has set up the bodies of his adver-  
saries upon stakes ; the grandson of Rimmon-nirari  
the high-priest of the great gods,
30. who brought about the overthrow of those who would  
not obey him, and overcame the world ; the great-  
grandson of Assur-dân, who
31. founded fortresses (and) established shrines :<sup>1</sup> in those  
days from the mouth of ASSUR (and) the great gods  
kingdom, sovereignty (and) majesty issued forth.
32. I am king, I am sovereign, I am exalted, I am strong,  
I am glorious, I am lusty, I am the firstborn, I am  
the champion, I am the warrior,
33. I am a lion, I am a hero ; Assur-natsir-pal, the power-  
ful king, the king of ASSYRIA, named of the MOON  
GOD, the favourite of ANU, the beloved of RIMMON  
mightiest among the gods,
34. (am) I ; a weapon that spares not, which brings  
slaughter to the land of his enemies, (am) I ; a  
king valiant in battle, the destroyer of cities and  
mountains,
35. the leader of the conflict, the king of the four regions  
(of the world), who lays the yoke upon his foes,  
who *enslaves* (?) all his enemies, the king of all the  
zones of all princes,
36. every one of them, the king who subjugates the un-  
submissive to him, who has overcome all the multi-  
tudes of men. This is the destiny which from the  
mouth of the great gods

<sup>1</sup> *Isriti* or *esrête*, of the same origin as the Hebrew *ashêrâh*, the sym-  
bol of the goddess of fertility, mistranslated "grove" in the authorised  
version of the Old Testament.

37. has issued forth for me, and they have established (it) firmly as my destiny. According to the desire of my heart and the stretching forth of my hand ISTAR,<sup>1</sup> the lady who loves
38. my high-priesthood, looked with favour upon me and set her heart to make combat and battle, and in those days Assur-natsir-pal, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the great gods,
39. whom BEL has caused to obtain the desire of his heart so that his hand conquered the lands of all princes who submitted not unto him, the conqueror
40. of his foes who in difficult places has broken through the squadrons of the mighty—at that time ASSUR my great lord, the proclaimer of my name,
41. the enlarger of my kingdom over the kings of the four regions (of the world), has mightily magnified my name, the weapon that spares not unto the hands of my lordship
42. he has given to hold. To effect the submission and homage of countries and mighty mountains powerfully has he urged me. In reliance on ASSUR my lord
43. I traversed impassable paths (and) trackless mountains with the forces of my armies: a rival unto me existed not. At the beginning of my reign,
44. in my first year, when the SUN-GOD the judge of the zones (of the world) had thrown his kindly shadow over me, on the throne of royalty mightily I had sat, (and) the sceptre
45. that shepherds mankind he had caused my hand to hold, I collected my chariots (and) armies. Impassable roads (and) trackless mountains, which for the passage
46. of chariots and armies were not suited, I traversed; against the land of NIMME<sup>2</sup> I marched: LIBÊ<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Ashtoreth of the Old Testament.

<sup>2</sup> This must be a different Nimme from the Armenian one, in the neighbourhood of the modern Mush, mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I. See vol. i. p. 106, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The name can also be read, but with less probability, Gubbê.

- their strong city (and the cities of) SURRA,  
APUQU,
47. ARURA (and) ARUBÊ, which are in sight of the mountains of URINI, ARUNI (and) ETINI,<sup>1</sup> strong cities, I captured; their fighting-men
48. in numbers I slew; their spoil, their goods (and) their oxen I carried away. (Their) soldiers sought the inaccessible mountain. The inaccessible mountain they reached. With (my) forces after them
49. I marched.<sup>2</sup> The summit of the mountain was like the point of an iron blade, and the flying bird of heaven had not swooped upon it. Like a nest
50. of *hawks* (?) in the midst of the mountain they made their stronghold. Into the midst of them where none among the kings my fathers had penetrated, in three days
51. the hero beheld the mountain; against it did his heart offer opposition: he ascended the mountain on his feet; he overthrew (and) destroyed their nest; their forces
52. he shattered; 200 of their warriors he slew with weapons. Their spoil, multitudinous as a flock of sheep, I carried away.
53. With their blood I dyed the mountain like *wool* (?). The ravine (and) torrent of the mountain devoured<sup>3</sup> what was left of them. Their cities
54. I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. From the country of NIMME I departed; into the country of KIRRURI<sup>4</sup> I descended, the tribute of the countries of KIRRURI
55. 'SIME'SI,<sup>5</sup> (and) 'SIMERA, the city of ULMANIA, (and)

<sup>1</sup> The Mount Etini in eastern Kurdistan mentioned in col. ii. line 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Lallik* for *lu allik*.

<sup>3</sup> *Akul* for *yakul* after *sade*.

<sup>4</sup> Kirruri (or Gurruri) was the district under Mount Rowandiz in Kurdistan, eastward of Assyria, from which a pass led directly into the city of Arbela.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sime'si lay immediately to the north-east of the pass of Holwan.

- the countries of ADAUS,<sup>1</sup> of the MURGIANS, (and) of the MURMA'SIANS,<sup>2</sup> horses, mules,<sup>3</sup>
56. oxen, sheep, wine, (and) a bowl of copper, as their tribute I received. I established a governor over them. When in KIRRURI
57. I was slaying, the glory of ASSUR my lord overwhelmed the people of GOZAN and KHUPUSKA:<sup>4</sup> horses, silver,
58. gold, lead, copper (and) a bowl of copper as their tribute they brought before me. From KIRRURI I departed,
59. into the lowlands of the city of KHULUN, into the country of QURKHI<sup>5</sup> of BETANI I descended. The cities of KHATU,<sup>6</sup> KHATARU, NISTUN, IRBIDI,
60. MITQIA, ARZANIA,<sup>7</sup> TELA,<sup>8</sup> (and) KHALUA, the cities of QURKHI which in sight of the mountains of U'SU, ARUA
61. (and) ARARDHI,<sup>9</sup> mighty mountains, are situated, I captured; their soldiers in multitudes I slew; their spoil (and) their goods I carried away.
62. [Their] soldiers sought the peak (of the mountain); they reached the summit which (is) at the entrance to the city of NISTUN, which hangs from the sky like a cloud. Into the midst of them, where none

<sup>1</sup> Adaus is mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I; see vol. i. p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Or Kharga'sians.

<sup>3</sup> The word is expressed by ideographs which signify "animals with large feet." It is therefore probable that a species of horse, like our cart-horse, is meant rather than mules.

<sup>4</sup> Gozan lay to the south of the kingdom of Ararat between the northern bank of the Tigris and Lake Van. Whether the country of Gozan had anything to do with the city of Gozan which gave its name to Gauzanitis in classical times is doubtful. The city seems to be meant by the Gozan of Scripture (2 Kings xix. 12) which lay on the river Khabour. Khupuska lay to the north of Assyria and the Upper Zab.

<sup>5</sup> Qurkhi of Betani or Armenia extended eastward of Diarbekir along the northern bank of the Tigris. See vol. i. p. 96, note 3. Qurkli formed the eastern boundary of the Hittite tribes.

<sup>6</sup> The name of this city seems to signify "Hittite."

<sup>7</sup> A variant text gives Artsuain. It may be the Artsuinis of the Vannic inscriptions, the modern Sirka near Van.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the modern Tilleh, at the junction of the Sert river and the Tigris.

<sup>9</sup> This seems to be the earliest form of the name of Urardhu, the Biblical Ararat.

- among the kings my fathers had penetrated, my warriors flew upon them like birds :
64. 260 of their fighting-men I slew with weapons ; their heads I cut off (and) built into a pyramid. The rest of them like a bird
65. made (their) nest in the rocks of the mountain. Their spoil (and) their goods from the midst of the mountain I brought down. The cities which in the midst
66. of the mighty ranges were situated I overthrew, I dug up, I burned with fire. All the soldiers who had fled from the face of my weapons descended ; my feet
67. they embraced. Tribute, gifts, and a satrap I imposed upon them. Bubu the son of Bubâ,<sup>1</sup> the son of the chief of the city of NISUN,
68. I flayed in the city of ARBELA (and) clothed the wall of the fortress with his skin. At that time I made an image of my person ; the glorious deeds of my abundant power
69. I inscribed upon (it). I erected (it) in the mountains of the land of EQI in the city of ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL at the head of the river-source.<sup>2</sup> In the year when I was eponym<sup>3</sup> on the 24th day of the month Ab,<sup>4</sup>
70. by the command of ASSUR (and) ISTAR the great gods my lords I departed from the city of NINEVEH ; against the cities which at the foot of the mountains of NIBUR and PAZATE, mighty mountains,
71. are situated I marched ; I conquered the cities of ATKUN, USKHU, PILAZI (and) 20 (other) cities dependent on them. Their numerous fighting-men I slew ;
72. their spoil (and) their goods I carried away ; the cities I burned with fire. All the soldiers who had fled from the face of my weapons descended
73. (and) embraced my feet. I imposed tribute upon them. I departed from the cities which (are) at

<sup>1</sup> A variant text gives Babua.

<sup>2</sup> The Tigris seems to be referred to rather than the Euphrates.

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 883.

<sup>4</sup> July.

- the foot of the mountains of NIBUR (and) PAZATE.  
 The river TIGRIS I crossed ;
74. to the land of KUMMUKH<sup>1</sup> I approached. I received  
 the tribute of the countries of KUMMUKH (and)  
 MUSKI,<sup>2</sup> plates of copper, oxen, sheep (and) wine.  
 While in the land of KUMMUKH
75. I was staying, they brought me back news that the  
 'SURU of BIT-KHALUPE<sup>3</sup> had revolted (and) had  
 murdered their governor Khamatâ.<sup>4</sup>
76. Akhi-yababa a plebeian<sup>5</sup> whom they had brought from  
 BIT-ADINI,<sup>6</sup> they raised to the sovereignty over  
 them. With the help of ASSUR (and) RIMMON,
77. the great gods, the enlargers of my sovereignty, I as-  
 sembled (my) chariots (and) armies, I occupied the  
 banks of the KHABUR.<sup>7</sup> On my march the tribute
78. abundant of Sallimmanu-khaman-ilani of the city of  
 SADIKAN,<sup>8</sup> the son of Ilu-Rimmon<sup>9</sup> of the city of  
 QATNA,<sup>10</sup> silver, gold,
79. lead, plates of copper, variegated cloths, (and) linen  
 vestments I received. To the city of 'SURI of BIT-  
 KHALUPE I approached ;
80. the fear of the glory of ASSUR my lord overwhelmed

<sup>1</sup> The Komagênê of classical geography ; see vol. i. p. 95, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Moskhî of classical geography, the Meshech of the Old Testa-  
 ment ; see vol. i. p. 94, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The modern Helebi on the western bank of the Euphrates, midway  
 between the mouths of the Balikh and the Khabour. The classical Sura  
 (now Surieh), a little above the mouth of the Balikh, preserved the name  
 of the 'Suru.

<sup>4</sup> The name means " the Hamathite."

<sup>5</sup> Literally " the son of nobody."

<sup>6</sup> Bit-Adin was on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, not far from its  
 junction with the Balikh. It may be the Eden of Ezek. xxvii. 23 and 2  
 Kings xix. 12.

<sup>7</sup> The modern Khabour, which joins the Euphrates at the site of Cir-  
 cesium.

<sup>8</sup> Now Arban, on the eastern bank of the Khabour, where Sir A. H.  
 Layard discovered the remains of a palace. Dr. Peiser may be right in  
 reading the name Gar-dikan.

<sup>9</sup> Or Ilu-Dadu, " Hadad is god." Dadu or Hadad was the Syrian  
 name of the deity which the Assyrians identified with their Rimmon. The  
 compound Hadad-Rimmon is found in Zech. xii. 11.

<sup>10</sup> We may compare the name of Yoktan in Gen. x. 25. In W. A. I. ii.  
 60, 30, mention is made of " Qatnu the god of the city of Qatan."



- them ; the nobles (and) the elders of the city, to save their lives, came forth to meet me ;
81. they took my feet, saying, Thou wilt (it and) it is death, thou wilt (it and) it is life, the will of thy heart will we perform. Akhi-yababa, the son of a plebeian
82. whom they had brought from BIT-ADINI I seized by the hand. In the prowess of my heart and the violence of my weapons I attacked the city. All the soldiers who had rebelled
83. they had seized (and) delivered up. I brought my nobles into its palace (and) its temples : its silver, its gold, its goods, its spoil, copper,
84. iron, lead, plates of copper, sacrificial knives of copper, sacrificial bowls of copper, (other) objects of copper in abundance, alabaster, a cup
85. with handles, the amazons<sup>1</sup> of its palaces, its daughters, the spoil of the soldiers who had rebelled along with their goods, its gods along with their goods,
86. precious stones from the mountain, its chariot(s), (its) yokes of horses bound to the yoke, the trappings of the horses, the accoutrements of the soldiers,
87. variegated cloths, linen vestments, a beautiful altar of cedar-wood, sweet-smelling herbs, a shrine of cedar,
88. red purple (and) blue purple garments,<sup>2</sup> its wagons, its oxen, (and) its sheep, its exceeding spoil, which like the stars of heaven could not be numbered,
89. I carried away. Aziel I appointed over them as my vicegerent. I erected a pyramid at the approach to its chief gate. The nobles, as many as
90. had revolted, I flayed ; with their skins I covered the pyramid. Some (of these) I immured in the midst of the pyramid ; others above
91. the pyramid I impaled on stakes ; others round about the pyramid I planted on stakes ; many at the exit from my own country

<sup>1</sup> Literally "female soldiers."

<sup>2</sup> *Argamanu takiltu*, the Hebrew *argamân* and *thekêleth*, Exod. xxv. 26, xxvi. 4.

92. I flayed ; with their skins I clad the fortress-walls.  
The limbs of the chief officers who (were) the  
chief officers of the kings who had rebelled I cut  
off.
93. I brought Akhi-yababa to NINEVEH (and) flayed him ;  
with his skin I clad the fortress-wall of NINEVEH.  
Power and might
94. I laid upon the land of LAQE.<sup>1</sup> While I was staying  
in the city of 'SURI the tribute of the kings of the  
land of LAQE every one of them,
95. silver, gold, lead, copper, a plate of copper, oxen,  
sheep, variegated cloths (and) linen vestments, as  
tribute
96. and gifts I prescribed (and) imposed upon them. At  
that time the tribute of Khayanu of the city of  
KHINDAN,<sup>2</sup> silver,
97. gold, lead, copper, *umu* stone, *alabaster* (?), red purple  
garments, (and) *wild asses* (?) as his tribute I  
received. At that time an image
98. of my majesty grandly I made ; (the story of my)  
power and exaltation I inscribed upon (it) ; in the  
midst of his palace I set (it) up. I erected my  
stelæ ;
99. (the story of) the exaltation of my strength I inscribed  
upon (them) ; at the gate of his (city) I placed  
(them). In the same year during my eponymy,<sup>3</sup>  
by the command of ASSUR my lord and URAS who  
loves my priesthood,
100. whereas in the time of the kings my fathers no one of  
the country of the SHUHITES<sup>4</sup> had gone to the  
land of ASSYRIA, Ilu-epus<sup>5</sup> the SHUHITE, to save  
his life, together with his brothers (and)

<sup>1</sup> The land of Laqe adjoined the territory of the 'Suru on the north.

<sup>2</sup> Khindan may be the Giddan of classical geography, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "in the eponymy of the year of my name."

<sup>4</sup> Assyrian 'Sukhi. Their territory extended along the western bank of the Euphrates, from the mouth of the Balikh to the mouth of the Khabour. It was to the Shuhites that Bildad (Bel-Dadu), the friend of Job, belonged (Job ii. 11).

<sup>5</sup> Or, as it may also be read, Ilu-bani.

101. his sons brought silver (and) gold as tribute to Nineveh to my presence. In the course of the eponymy<sup>1</sup> I was staying in the city of NINEVEH when news
102. was brought that the ASSYRIAN colonists whom Shalmaneser<sup>2</sup> king of ASSYRIA, a prince who went before me,
103. had planted in the city of KHALZI-DIBKHA,<sup>3</sup> had revolted (with) Khulâ the lord of their city (and) were on the march to capture my royal city of DAMDAMU'SA.
104. By the command of ASSUR, SAMAS, and RIMMON, the gods my ministers I assembled my chariots (and) armies. At the head of the sources of the river 'SUPNAT,<sup>4</sup> where the image(s)
105. of Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglath-Uras<sup>5</sup> king(s) of Assyria my fathers had been erected, I executed an image of my royal self (and) erected (it) by the side of theirs.
106. At that time the tribute of the country of IZALA, oxen, sheep (and) wine I received. I crossed the mountain of KASYARI.<sup>6</sup> To the city of KINABU,
107. the fortified city of Khulâ, I approached. With the strength of my army (and with) violent battle I attacked the city. I captured (it) Six hundred of their fighting men
108. I slew with the sword. Three thousand of their captives I burned with fire. I left not one alive among them to become a hostage. Khulâ
109. the lord of their city I captured alive with (my) hand. I built their bodies into pyramids. Their young men (and) their maidens I burned to ashes.
110. Khulâ the lord of their city I flayed. With his skin I clad the fortress-wall of the city of DAMDAMU'SA.

<sup>1</sup> *Limesamma*.

<sup>2</sup> Shalmaneser I, the builder of Calah, B.C. 1300.

<sup>3</sup> Or Khalzi-lukha.

<sup>4</sup> The Sebbenah Su, which falls into the Tigris to the north of Diarbekir.

<sup>5</sup> Tiglath-Pileser I, B.C. 1130, and Tiglath-Uras, B.C. 889-883, are referred to.

<sup>6</sup> The Mount Masius of classical geography.

The city I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire.

111. I captured the city of MARIRU which (was) dependent on them. Fifty of their warriors I slew with weapons; 200 of their captives I burned with fire; 332
112. soldiers of the country of NIRBI<sup>1</sup> I slew in combat in the field. I brought away their spoil, their oxen (and) their sheep. The (people of the) country of NIRBU which (lies) at the foot of Mount UKHIRA
113. encouraged one another. Against the city of TELA,<sup>2</sup> their stronghold, I descended. From the city of KINABU I departed. To the city of TELA I approached.
114. The city was very strong. Three fortress-walls surrounded (it). The inhabitants trusted to their strong walls and their numerous army, and had not descended (into the field).
115. They did not embrace my feet. With combat and slaughter I attacked the city (and) captured (it): 3000 of their fighting men I slew with the sword. Their spoil,
116. their goods, their oxen (and) their sheep I carried away. Their numerous captives I burned with fire. I captured many of the soldiers alive with the hand.
117. I cut off the hands (and) feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears (and) the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out.
118. I built up a pyramid of the living (and) a pyramid of heads. In the middle (of them) I suspended their heads on vine-stems in the neighbourhood of their city. Their young men

#### COLUMN II

1. (and) their maidens I burned as a holocaust. The

<sup>1</sup> The "lowlands" in the neighbourhood of Diarbekir. The "land of the Hittites" lay immediately to the east of them.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the same as the TELA of line 60.

- city I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. I annihilated it. The cities of the land of NIRBI
2. (and) their strong fortress-walls I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. At that time from the country of NIRBI I departed. To the city of TUSKHA<sup>1</sup>
  3. I approached. The city of TUSKHA I restored afresh. Its old wall I changed. Its site I purified. Its strength I took (in hand). A new wall
  4. from its foundations to its coping I built up, completed (and) strengthened. I erected a palace for the seat of my majesty at its gates.<sup>2</sup>
  5. I built this palace up from its foundations to its coping. I made an image of my person of white limestone. The might
  6. of my power, the record and history of my conquests which I achieved in the countries of NAIRI<sup>3</sup> I inscribed upon (it). In the city of TUSKHA
  7. I set (it) up. I inscribed a tablet of stone. In its wall I placed (it). Those colonists from ASSYRIA, who in consequence of a famine to other lands
  8. (even) to the land of RURE had ascended I brought back. In the city of TUSKHA I planted them. This city for myself
  9. I took. Grain and straw from the land of NIRBI I heaped up within (it). The remaining inhabitants of the land of NIRBI who had fled from the face of my weapons
  10. descended (and) took my feet. Their cities (and) their houses (which were) suitable I caused them to occupy. As tribute and gifts, horses,
  11. mules, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) plates of copper, in addition to what I formerly prescribed I imposed upon them. Their sons as hostages

<sup>1</sup> Also called Tuskhan. It lay between Mount Masius and the Tigris, south of Diarbekir.

<sup>2</sup> Or according to a variant text: "I founded a palace for the seat of my majesty in the midst (of it); I made doors; at its gates I erected (them)."

<sup>3</sup> The district between Lake Van and the northern frontier of Assyria; see vol. i. p. 106, n. 7.

12. I took. While I was staying in the city of TUSKHA the tribute of Ammi-bahla,<sup>1</sup> the son of Zamani, of. Ilu-Khite<sup>2</sup> of the land of RURE,
13. of Labdhuri the son of Dhubu'si of the land of NIRDUN, and the tribute of the country of URUME of BITANI<sup>3</sup> (and) of the kings of the land of NAIRI,
14. chariots, horses, mules, silver, gold, plate(s) of copper, oxen, sheep (and) wine, as their tribute I received.
15. I established a lord of the marches over the lands of NAIRI. On my return from the lands of NAIRI, the land of NIRBU which (is) within
16. the mountain of KASYARI revolted. Their nine cities they left. To the city of ISPILIPRIA<sup>4</sup> their stronghold and the inaccessible mountain
17. they trusted, and the summits of the mountain I attacked (and) seized. In the midst of the mighty mountain I slew their warriors. With their blood like *wool* (?) the mountain
18. I dyed. What was left of them was swallowed up by the ravines and torrents of the mountain. Their spoil (and) their goods I carried away. The heads of their fighting-men
19. I cut off. I built up a column (of them) at the top of their city. Their young men (and) their maidens I burned as a holocaust. Into the lowlands of the city of BULIYANI
20. I descended. The banks of the river LUQIA I occupied. In my passage the cities of the land of QURKHI<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name means "Ammi is Baal." Ammi or Ammon was the supreme god of Ammon, as found in the name of Ammi-nadab, a king of Ammon in the time of Assur-bani-pal. Dr. Neubauer has shown that the name also occurs in the compounds Rehobo-am (the son of an Ammonitess), Jerobo-am, and Bal-aam. Balaam came from "the land of the children of Ammo" (rendered "his people" by the A. V. ; Numb. xxii. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, Ankhite. But the name seems to mean "A god is Khite" (? the Hittite deity).

<sup>3</sup> Bitani is the district south of Lake Van. Urume may be the Urima of classical geography, the modern Urum. See vol. i. p. 99, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> One of the Vannic gods was called Elipris, and a Vannic chieftain had the name Lut-ipris. The suffix *-a* in Vannic denotes "the people of."

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 140, n. 5.

- which (is) in the lowlands I conquered. Their numerous soldiers
21. I slew. Their spoil I carried away. The cities I burned with fire. To the city of ARDUPA I came forth. At that time the tribute
22. of Akhi-ramu<sup>1</sup> the son of Yakhiri of the country of ZALLA,<sup>2</sup> of the son of Bakhiani of the country of the HITTITES, and of the kings of the country of KHANI-RABBAT,<sup>3</sup> silver, gold,
23. lead, plate(s) of copper, oxen, sheep (and) horses as their tribute I received. In the eponymy of Assur-idin<sup>4</sup> news was brought that
24. Tsab-Dadi<sup>5</sup> the prince of the country of DAGARA had revolted. The (people of the) country of ZAMUA<sup>6</sup> throughout its circuit encouraged one another. The lowlanders of the city of BABITE
25. built up a wall. To make war and battle they came against me. In reliance on ASSUR the great lord, my lord, and NERGAL
26. who marches before me, with the forceful weapons which ASSUR the lord gave unto me, my arms (and) armies I assembled; to the lowlands
27. of the city of BABITE I marched. The inhabitants trusted to the strength of their armies and offered battle. In the powers supreme of NERGAL who marches
28. before me I fought with them. I made a destruction of them. I shattered their forces; 1460 of their fighting-men in the lowlands

<sup>1</sup> The same name as that of Hiram king of Tyre.

<sup>2</sup> Called Azalla in col. iii. line 59. It bordered Bit-Adin on the north-west, the district belonging to "the son of Bakhian" being again to the north of it.

<sup>3</sup> "Khani the great," so called to distinguish it from another Khani nearer Babylonia. It was the district of which Malatiyeh was the capital.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. 882.

<sup>5</sup> "The man of Hadad" or Rimmon. The name may also be read Nur-Dadi, "the light of Hadad."

<sup>6</sup> Zamua lay among the mountains of eastern Kurdistan, between Sulamaniyyeh and the Shirwan, and must be distinguished from another Zamua, called "Zamua of Bitani," and more correctly Mazamua, which adjoined the shores of Lake Van.

29. I slew. The cities of UZE, BIRUTU, (and) LAGALAGA their stronghold, together with 100 towns dependent on them, I captured.
30. Their spoil, their possessions, their oxen (and) their sheep I carried away. Tsab-Dadi, to save his life, to an inaccessible mountain
31. ascended; 1200 of their soldiers I transported. From the city of DAGARA I departed. To the city of BARA I approached. The city of BARA
32. I captured. Three hundred and twenty of their soldiers I slew with weapons. Their oxen, their sheep (and) their heavy spoil I brought away.
33. Three hundred of their soldiers I transported. On the 15th day of the month Tisri<sup>1</sup> I departed from the city of KALZI.<sup>2</sup> Into the lowlands of the city of BABITE I descended.
34. From the city of BABITE I departed. To the country of NIZIR which they call the land of LULLU (and) the land of KINIPA<sup>3</sup> I approached. The city of BUNA'SI their stronghold
35. belonging to Mutsatsina and 20 cities dependent upon it I captured. The soldiers banded together; they occupied an inaccessible mountain. Assur-natsirpal the hero after them
36. pursued like birds. In the mountain of NIZIR he scattered their scouts; 326 of their fighting men he utterly destroyed. Its horses he seized.
37. The ravines and torrents of the mountain devoured their remnants. Seven cities which (are) in the country of NIZIR, which they had made their strongholds, I captured. Their warriors
38. I slew. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen (and) their

<sup>1</sup> September.

<sup>2</sup> Now Shamamah (Hazeh), south-west of Arbela.

<sup>3</sup> The "mountain of Nizir" was that on which the ark of the Chaldaean Noah was believed to have rested. It lay among the Kurdish mountains of Pir Mam, a little to the south of Rowandiz, between latitudes 35° and 36°. The sentence may also be rendered "which the (people of) Lullu call Kinipa," and Lullu may be identified with the country called Lullubu. Cp. line 77.



- sheep I carried away. The cities I burned with fire. At my camp thereupon I made a halt.
39. From this camp I next departed. To the cities in the plain of the land of NIZIR,<sup>1</sup> whose site had been seen by no one, I marched. The city of LARBU'SA,
40. the stronghold of Kirtiara (and) 8 cities dependent on it I captured. The men banded together; they occupied an inaccessible mountain. The mountain like the blade of an iron sword
41. was in appearance, the *lair* (?)<sup>2</sup> of his armies. After them I ascended. Into the midst of the mountain I threw their bodies; 172 of their warriors I slew; the soldiers
42. I piled up on the rocks of the mountain. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen (and) their sheep I brought away. The cities with fire
43. I burned. I hung their heads on the vines of the mountain. Their young men (and) their maidens I burned as a holocaust. Thereupon I made a halt at my camp;
44. from this camp I next marched forth. One hundred and fifty cities of the citizens of LARBU'SA, DURLULUMA, BUNAI'SA (and) BARA I captured.
45. Their warriors I slew. Their spoil I carried away. The cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. Fifty men of the city of BARA I slew in combat in the field.
46. At that time the kings of the country of ZAMUA, every one of them, were overwhelmed by the fear of the glory of Assur my lord. They embraced my feet. Horses, silver (and) gold
47. I received. I made all the country to turn (to me) with one voice. I laid on them a present of horses, silver, gold, grain (and) straw.
48. I departed from the city (I had named) *Tukulti-Assur-atsbat*.<sup>3</sup> The foot of the mountain of NISPI I

<sup>1</sup> Not "above the mountain of Nizir," as Peiser reads.

<sup>2</sup> *Manta*, from *manitu*, "a couch."

<sup>3</sup> "I have put my trust in Assur,"

- occupied. All the night I pursued (my march).  
To cities whose situation (is) remote, which in sight  
of the mountain of NISPI<sup>1</sup>
49. are situated, which Tsab-Dadi had made his strongholds, I marched. The city of BIRUTU I captured (and) burned with fire. During the eponymy of Bel-aku<sup>2</sup> I was staying in Nineveh when news
50. was brought that Ameka (and) Arastua had withheld the tribute and dues of ASSUR my lord. By the command of ASSUR the great lord, my lord, (and) NERGAL who goes before me,
51. on the first day of the month Sivan<sup>3</sup> for the third time against the country of ZAMUA I made a campaign.<sup>4</sup> The face of my chariots and armies I could not see. From the city of KALZI I departed. The lower ZAB<sup>5</sup>
52. I crossed. Into the lowlands of the city of BABITE I entered. The river RADANU<sup>6</sup> I crossed. To the foot of the mountain of the country of 'SIMAKI I was continually<sup>7</sup> approaching. Oxen,
53. sheep (and) wine, the tribute of the country of DAGARA I received. From the foot of the mountain of 'SIMAKI strong chariots<sup>8</sup> (and) riding-horses which had been bred there I brought away with me in store.<sup>9</sup> (All) night long till
54. dawn I pursued (my) march. The river DHURNAT<sup>10</sup> I crossed. In a *car* (?) of dark-blue stone I approached the city of AMMALI the stronghold of Arastua.

<sup>1</sup> A variant text has "in sight of the whole mountain (and) the plain" (EDINU).

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 881. The reading of the name of the eponym is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> May.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "a muster."

<sup>5</sup> The Kapros of classical geography, which flows from the east into the Tigris a little to the south of Kalah Sherghat (the ancient Assur).

<sup>6</sup> The modern Adhem, which passes through the district of Râdhân. It was the Physkos of classical geography, joining the Tigris at Opis.

<sup>7</sup> Literally "all my days."

<sup>8</sup> A variant text has "gift-chariots."

<sup>9</sup> Literally "I deposited with myself."

<sup>10</sup> The Tornadotus of classical geography, the modern Diyâleh, which falls into the Tigris a little below Bagdad.

55. With combat (and) slaughter I attacked the city; I captured (it); 800 of their fighting-men I slew with weapons. With their bodies I filled the streets of their city. With their blood
56. I dyed their houses. I captured the soldiers alive with the hand. Their numerous spoil I carried away. The city I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. Their young men
57. (and) maidens I burned as a holocaust. The city of KIZIRTU their
58. stronghold belonging to Zabini and the cities which (were) dependent upon them I captured. Their warriors I slew. Their spoil
59. I carried away. The cities of BARA belonging to Kirtiara, of DURA (and) of BUNI'SA as far as the lowlands of the country of KHAMMAR I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire.
60. To mounds and ruins I reduced (them). From the midst of the cities of Arastua I departed. Into the lowlands which (are) in sight of the mountains of LARA (and) BIDIRGI, inaccessible mountains, which for the passage
61. of chariots and soldiers were not suited, I descended. To the city of ZAMRI<sup>1</sup> the royal city of Ameka the ZAMUAN I approached. Ameka from the face of my mighty weapons (and) my battle
62. vehement fled away and betook himself to an inaccessible mountain. The furniture of his palace (and) his chariot I carried off. From the city of ZAMRI I departed. The river LALLU I crossed. To the mountains of ETINI,
63. a difficult locality, which for the passage of chariots and armies was unsuited, into the midst of which none of the kings my fathers had penetrated, I marched. The king leaving his armies to the mountains of ETINI
64. ascended. His property (and) his goods, numerous utensils of copper, a wild bull of copper, a plate of

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Zimri of Jer. xxv. 25.

- copper, bowls of copper, rings (?) of copper, the treasures of his palace (and) his treasury
65. from the midst of the mountains I carried off. At my camp thereupon I made a halt. In reliance upon ASSUR (and) SAMAS the gods my helpers from that camp I next departed. After him
66. I betook myself. The river EDIR I crossed. To within sight of the mountains of 'SUANI and ELANIU, mighty mountains, I slew their numerous warriors. His property, his goods, a wild bull of copper,
67. plates of copper, bowls of copper, cups of copper, numerous utensils of copper, a dish of gold with a handle, their oxen, their sheep, their goods,
68. (and) their heavy spoil I carried away from the foot of the mountains of ELANIU, I stripped him of his horses. Ameka, to save his life, ascended to the mountain of 'SABUA.
69. The cities of ZAMRU, ARA'SITKU, AMMARU, PAR'SINDU, Iritu (and) 'SURITU his stronghold, together with 150 cities
70. which (were) dependent on it I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. To mounds and ruins I reduced (them). While I was staying at the entrance to the city of PAR'SINDU, upon riding-horses (I made) the eunuchs
71. sit as a seat. Fifty fighting-men of Ameka I slew in the field. Their heads I cut off. On vines in the arbour of his palace I hung (them).
72. Twenty soldiers I captured alive with the hand. In the wall of his palace I immured (them). From the city of ZAMRI I carried the riding-horses (and) eunuchs along with me.
73. To the cities of Ata the ARZIZAN, into which none of the kings my fathers had penetrated, I marched. The cities of ARZIZU (and) AR'SINDU
74. his stronghold, together with ten cities which (were) dependent on it, which are situated in the midst of the mountain of NISPI, an inaccessible mountain,

- I conquered. Their warriors I slew. The cities I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire.
75. To my camp thereupon I returned. At that time copper, *tabbili* of copper, rings of copper (and) bracelets, the tribute of the country of 'SITAMMENA, which like women
76. they wear,<sup>1</sup> I received. From the city of ZAMRI I departed. To the mountain of LARA, an inaccessible mountain, which for the passage of chariots and armies was unsuited, with axes of iron I hewed (my way).
77. With picks of bronze I excavated (my path). I made a passage for the chariots and soldiers. To the city of TUKULTI-ASSUR-ATSBAT which the people of LULU call ARAKDI I descended. The kings
78. of the country of ZAMUA, every one of them, were terrified at the appearance of my weapons and the magnitude of my sovereignty, and embraced my feet. Tribute (and) gifts of silver, gold, lead,
79. copper, plates of copper, variegated cloths, horses, oxen, sheep (and) wine in addition to what I had before prescribed I imposed upon them. Their governor
80. in the city of CALAH<sup>2</sup> I appointed. While I was staying in the country of ZAMUA, the cities of KHUDUN, KHARTIS,<sup>3</sup> KHUPUSKA (and) GOZAN<sup>4</sup> the fear
81. of the glory of ASSUR my lord overwhelmed. Tribute (and) gifts of silver, gold, horses, variegated cloths, oxen, sheep (and) wine they brought to me. As for the men,
82. as many as had fled from the face of my weapons (and) had ascended the mountains, I marched after them. In sight of the countries of AZIRU and 'SIMAKI they had encamped. The city of ME'SU their stronghold
83. they had made. The land of AZIRU I overthrew (and)

<sup>1</sup> *Tsapruni*; not from *tsaparu*, "to murmur."

<sup>2</sup> Now Nimrud.

<sup>3</sup> Or Murtis,

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 140, note 4.

- dug up. From within sight of the country of 'SIMAKI as far as the river DHURNAT I piled up their corpses. Five hundred of their fighting-men I utterly destroyed.
84. Their heavy spoil I carried away. I burned the cities with fire. At that time in the country of ZAMUA the city of ADLILA, which 'Sibir king of KAR-DUNI-AS<sup>1</sup> after capturing it had destroyed
85. (and) had reduced to mounds and ruins, Assur-natsirpal king of ASSYRIA restored again. Its wall I encircled. A palace for the seat of my majesty in the middle (of it) I founded, adorned (and) strengthened. In addition to what I had before prescribed
86. grain (and) straw from all the country I heaped up within (it). I called its name DUR-ASSUR.<sup>2</sup> On the first day of the month Sivan, during the eponymy of Sa-samu-damqu<sup>3</sup> I assembled my chariots (and) armies.
87. The river TIGRIS I crossed. Into the land of KUMMUKH I descended. A palace in the city of TILULI I *occupied* (?) I received the tribute of the land of KUMMUKH. From the land of KUMMUKH I departed. Into the lowlands
88. of the land of the ASTARTÊ goddesses<sup>4</sup> I descended. In the city of KIBAKI I made a halt. Oxen, sheep, wine (and) plates of copper I received as the tribute of the city of KIBAKI. From the city of KIBAKI I departed.
89. The city of MATTEYATE I approached. The city of MATYAUTE (*sic*) together with the city of KABRANISA I captured: 2,800 of their soldiers I slew with weapons: their numerous spoil I carried away.
90. All the men who had fled from the face of my

<sup>1</sup> Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> "The fortress of Assur."

<sup>3</sup> B.C. 880.

<sup>4</sup> We know from the treaty concluded between Ramses II and the Hittites that the Hittites worshipped Astartê by the side of their supreme god Sutekh. The goddess who presided over Hierapolis, the successor of Carchemish in classical times, was Alargatis, that is Atar-'Ati or Astartê-'Ati.

- weapons embraced my feet. Their cities I let them occupy. Tribute, gifts (and) governors I appointed<sup>1</sup>; upon them
91. I imposed. An image of my person I made. The power of my strength I inscribed upon (it). In the city of MATTEYATE I erected (it). From the city of MATTEYATE I departed. To the city of ZAZABUKHA
92. I directed (my) camp. The tribute of the country of QURKHI, oxen, sheep, wine, plates of copper, wild bulls of copper (and) bowls of copper I received. From the city of ZAZABUKHA I departed.
93. In the city of IR'SIA I made a halt. I burned the city of IR'SIA with fire. The tribute of the city of 'SURA, oxen, sheep, wine (and) plates of copper I received in the city of IR'SIA.
94. From the city of IR'SIA I departed. In the midst of the mountain of KASYARI I made a halt. The city of MADARANZU (and) two cities which (were) dependent upon it I captured. Their warriors I slew.
95. Their spoil I carried away. I burned the cities with fire. For six days in the heart of the mountain of KASYARI, a mighty mountain, a locality difficult (of access), which for the passage of chariots and armies
96. was unsuited, the mountain with axes of iron I hewed, with picks of bronze I excavated. I made a passage for the chariots and soldiers. In the cities by the side of the bridge which (is) in the mountain of KASYARI
97. oxen, sheep, wine, plates of copper (and) bowls of copper I received. I crossed Mount KASYARI in the centre. For the second time I descended into the lands of NAIRI. (In) the city of SINIGISA<sup>2</sup>
98. I made a halt. From the city of SIGISA I departed

<sup>1</sup> Literally "strengthened."

<sup>2</sup> Or Sigisa, according to a variant text.

- To the city of MADARA, the stronghold of Labdhuri the son of Dhubu'si I approached. The city was very strong. Four walls
99. surrounded (it). I attacked the city. They dreaded the face of my powerful weapons, and its spoil, its goods (and) their sons I received in ransom. In place of their lives I accepted them.<sup>1</sup>
100. Tribute, gifts (and) governors I imposed upon them. The city I overthrew (and) dug up. To a mound and ruin I reduced (it). From the city of MADARA I departed. Into the city of TUSKHAN<sup>2</sup>
101. I descended. A palace in the city of TUSKHAN I commenced.<sup>3</sup> The tribute of the country of NIRDUN, horses, mules, plate(s) of copper, -bowls of copper, oxen, sheep
102. (and) wine in the city of TUSKHAN I received. Sixty cities (and) strong fortresses in the mountain of KASYARI belonging to Labdhuri the son of Dhubu'si I overthrew (and) dug up. To mounds
103. (and) ruins I reduced (them). In reliance on ASSUR my lord I departed from the city of TUSKHAN. *Gift* (?) chariots<sup>4</sup> (and) riding-horses bred therein I carried off in store with me. By means of ropes
104. I crossed the TIGRIS. All night I pursued (my way). To the city of PITURA the stronghold of the DIRRANS I approached. The city was very difficult (of access).
105. Two walls surrounded (it). Its citadel was situated like the peak of a mountain. Through the hands supreme of ASSUR my lord, (and) with the might of my armies and my vehement battle,
106. I fought with them. After two days, towards midday I roared upon them like RIMMON the inundator of the plain. I rained destruction upon them. With violence

<sup>1</sup> Literally "to the preservation of their lives I turned them."

<sup>2</sup> Also written Tuskha.

<sup>3</sup> Or, perhaps, "laid out broadly."

<sup>4</sup> The printed text has "weapons."



107. and power my fighting-men flew upon them like the vulture. I captured the city; 800 of their fighting-men I slew with weapons; their heads
108. I cut off. Many soldiers I took alive with the hand; the rest of them I burned with fire. Their heavy spoil I carried away. A pyramid of the living (and) of heads
109. I built up at the entrance to its chief gate. I impaled 700 men upon stakes at the approach to their great gate. The city I overthrew, dug up (and) reduced to a mound and ruin. Their young men
110. (and) their maidens I burned as a holocaust. The city of KUKUNU which (is) at the mouth of the pass of the mountain of MADNI I captured. I slew with weapons 700 of their soldiers.
111. Their numerous spoil I carried away. Fifty cities of the country of DIRRA I captured. Their warriors I slew. Their spoil I carried away. Fifty soldiers I captured alive with the hand. The cities I overthrew,
112. dug up (and) burned with fire. I outpoured upon them the splendour of my sovereignty. From the city of PITURA<sup>1</sup> I departed. Into the city of ARBAKI in the country of QURKHI of BETANI I descended.
113. They were terrified before the glory of my majesty, and deserted their cities (and) their strong fortresses. To save their lives they ascended Mount MADNI, a mighty mountain.
114. I pursued after them. A thousand of their fighting-men I cut to pieces in the midst of the inaccessible mountain. With their blood I dyed the mountain. With their bodies the valleys
115. (and) torrents of the mountain I filled. I took 200 soldiers alive with the hand. I cut off their hands. I carried away 2000 captives. Their oxen (and) their sheep
116. to a countless number I took home. The towns of

<sup>1</sup> Also written Bitura.

- IYAYA (and) 'SALANIBA, the strongholds of the city of ARBAKI I captured. I slew their warriors. I carried away their spoil.
117. I overthrew (and) dug up 250 cities whose walls (were) strong in the countries of NAIRI. To mounds and ruins I reduced (them). The harvests of their mountain I reaped; the corn
118. (and) straw I accumulated in the city of TUSKHAN. Against Ammi-bahla the son of Zamani his nobles revolted and murdered him. In order to avenge
119. Ammi-bahla I marched. Before the appearance of my weapons and the grandeur of my sovereignty
120. they had fear, and chariots (with) yokes of horses, trappings of men (and) horses, 460
121. horses bound to the yoke, 2 talents of silver, 2 talents of gold, 100 talents
122. of lead, 100 talents of copper, 300 talents of iron, 100 plates of copper, 3000 handles of copper, bowls of copper, cups of copper,
123. 1000 variegated cloths, linen vestments, a dish of black wood, ivory (and) gold, the possessions
124. (and) treasure of the palace, 2000 oxen, 5000 sheep, his wife with her rich dowry (and) the daughters
125. of the nobles with their rich dowries I received.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An inscription of Assur-natsir-pal, engraved on a monolith found among the ruins of Kurkh on the Tigris (20 miles below Diarbekir), has the following variant account of the campaign :—“(42) I flayed the skin of Bur-ramānu the rebel: I covered (with it) the wall of the city of 'SINABU. Arteanu his brother I raised to the chieftainship; (43) 2 manehs of gold, 13 manehs of silver, 1000 sheep (and) 2000 . . . as tribute . . . I imposed upon him. The cities of 'SINABU (and) TIDU, the fortresses which (44) Shalmaneser king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, had occupied for himself against the country of NAIRI, which the ARUMU [Aramæans] had taken away by force, to (45) myself I restored; the men of the city of ASSUR who had garrisoned the fortresses of (the god) ASSUR in the land of NAIRI, whom in the land of ARUMU (the ARAMÆANS) (46) had oppressed, their cities [and] their farmsteads [*bit-kummi*] which had been *destroyed* (?) I caused them to occupy (and) I settled them in quiet seats. Fifteen hundred (47) soldiers, AKHLAME from the country of ARMAN [Aramæans?] belonging to Ammi-pahli the son of Zamāni I removed, to ASSYRIA I brought (them). The harvests of NAIRI (48) I cut down; in the cities of TUSKHA, DAMDAMU'SA, 'SINABU (and) TIDU for the benefit of my country I stored (them) up. (49) The cities of the

Assur-natsir-pal the great king, the powerful king,  
the king of multitudes, the king of ASSYRIA, the  
son of Tiglath-Uras the great king, the powerful  
king,

126. the king of multitudes, the king of ASSYRIA, the son  
of Rimmon-nirari the great king, the powerful  
king, the king of multitudes, the king of the same  
ASSYRIA; the hero warrior who has marched in  
reliance upon ASSUR his lord, and among the  
kinglets
127. of the four zones has had no rival; the king who  
from the fords of the TIGRIS to the land of  
LEBANON and the great sea,<sup>1</sup>
128. the land of LAQE throughout its circuit (and) the land  
of the SHUHITES as far as the city of RAPIQI<sup>2</sup> has  
subdued beneath his feet; from the head of the  
sources
129. of the 'SUPNAT<sup>3</sup> as far as the lowlands of BITANI his  
hand has conquered; from the lowlands of  
KIRRURI to the country of GOZAN, from the fords  
of the Lower ZAB
130. to the city of TEL-BARI which (is) above the land of  
ZABAN,<sup>4</sup> from the city of the *Tel*<sup>5</sup> of APTANI to  
the city of the *Tel* of ZABDANI, the cities of  
KHIRIMU (and) KHARUTU (and) the country of  
BIRATE<sup>6</sup>
131. belonging to KAR-DUNIAS<sup>7</sup> to the frontiers of my  
country I have restored (the territory), and the  
broad regions of the countries of NAIRI throughout

countries of NIRDUN (and) LULUTA, the city of KI(?)RRA (and) the  
countries of AGGUNU, ULLIBA, ARBAKI and NIRBE I conquered, their  
fighting-men I slew, (50) their spoil I carried away, their cities I threw  
down, dug up (and) burned with fire. To mounds and ruins I reduced  
(them). Taxes (Heb. *halâk*), tribute, and a governor I imposed upon the  
country of NAIRI. (51) My own prefect I imposed upon them; they  
performed homage. The sight of my weapons (and) the terror of my  
sovereignty I outpoured upon the land of NAIRI."

<sup>1</sup> The Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> On the north-western frontier of Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> The Sebbeneh Su, which joins the Tigris north of Diarbekir.

<sup>4</sup> Zaban was on the southern side of the Lower Zab.

<sup>5</sup> Or "mound."

<sup>6</sup> "Fortresses."

<sup>7</sup> Babylonia.

- its whole extent I have conquered. I took the city of CALAH (in hand) anew. The old mound
132. I changed. I deepened (it) as far as the level of the waters. To a depth of 120 *tikpi* I consolidated (it). The temple of URAS my lord upon the middle of it I founded. At that time
133. I made an image of the same URAS which did not previously exist in the inventiveness of my heart, even a colossus of his great divinity, with the best of mountain-stone and fine gold.
134. I accounted him my great divinity in the city of CALAH. His festivals I ordained in the months Sebat and Elul.<sup>1</sup> His sanctuary which had not been built<sup>2</sup> I designed.
135. The holy of holies of URAS my lord I constructed firmly in the midst of it. The temple of BELTIS, SIN,<sup>3</sup> and GULA, the image of EA the king (and) the image of RIMMON the master of heaven and earth I erected.

## COLUMN III

1. In the month Sivan, on the 22d day, during the eponymy of Dagon-bil-natsir,<sup>4</sup> I departed from the city of CALAH. The TIGRIS I crossed. On the further bank of the TIGRIS
2. abundant tribute I received. In the city of TABITE I made a halt. On the 6th day of the month Tammuz I departed from the city of TABITE. I occupied the banks of the river KHARMIS.<sup>5</sup>
3. In the city of MAGARI'SI I made a halt. From the city of MAGARI'SI I departed. I occupied the banks of the river KHABUR.<sup>6</sup> (In) the city of SADIKANNI I made
4. a halt. The tribute of the city of SADIKANNI, silver, gold, lead, plates of copper, oxen, (and) sheep I received. From the city of SADIKANNI

<sup>1</sup> January and August.<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps "with bowing down."<sup>3</sup> The Moon-god.<sup>4</sup> B.C. 879.<sup>5</sup> The classical Hermos or Hirmas, flowing into the Khabour. Nisibis was built upon its banks.<sup>6</sup> The modern Khabour.

5. I departed. In the city of QATNI I made a halt. The tribute of the city of the QATNIANS I received. From the city of QATNI I departed.
6. In the city of DUR-KADLIME<sup>1</sup> I made a halt. From the city of DUR-KADLIME I departed. In the city of BIT-KHALUPE I made a halt. The tribute
7. of the country of BIT-KHALUPE, silver, gold, lead, plates of copper, variegated cloths, linen vestments, oxen (and) sheep I received.
8. From the country of BIT-KHALUPE I departed. In the city of 'SIRQI<sup>2</sup> I made a halt. The tribute of the city of the 'SIRQIANS, silver, gold, lead, plates, oxen
9. (and) sheep I received. From the city of 'SIRQI I departed. In the city of TSUPRI I made a halt. The tribute of the city of the TSUPRIANS, silver,
10. gold, lead, plates, oxen (and) sheep I received. From the city of TSUPRIA I departed. In the city of NAQARABANI I made
11. a halt. The tribute of the city of NAQARABANI, silver, gold, lead, plates, oxen (and) sheep I received. From the city of NAQARABANI
12. I departed. At the approach to the city of KHINDANI I made a halt. On the further bank of the EUPHRATES it is situated.
13. The tribute of the city of the KHINDANIANS, silver, gold, lead, plates, oxen (and) sheep I received. From the city of KHINDANI
14. I departed. In the mountains above the EUPHRATES I made a halt. From the mountains I departed. In BIT-SABAYA<sup>3</sup> at the approach to the city of KHARIDI
15. I made a halt. The city of KHARUDU (*sic*) is situated on the further bank of the EUPHRATES. From BIT-SABAYA I departed. At the head of the city of ANAT<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or Dur-Kumlime.

<sup>2</sup> The Circesium of classical geography, at the junction of the Euphrates and the Khabour.

<sup>3</sup> Sabaya is the name of a chief.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Anah.

16. I made a halt. The city of ANAT is situated in the middle of the EUPHRATES. From the city of ANAT I departed. The city of 'SURU<sup>1</sup> the stronghold of
17. Sadudu of the land of the SHUHITES I attacked. To the far-spread soldiers of the country of the KASSI<sup>2</sup> he trusted, and to make war and battle against me
18. he came. The city I attacked. For two days I fought within (it). Before my mighty weapons Saduta (*sic*) and 70 of his soldiers to
19. save his life plunged into the EUPHRATES. I captured the city. Fifty riding-horses and (their) grooms, the property of Nebo-baladan<sup>3</sup> king of KAR-DUNIAS
20. (and) Zabdanu his brother together with 3000 of their soldiers, (and) Bel-bal-iddin the prophet who went before their hosts I carried off captive along with them.
21. Many soldiers I slew with weapons. Silver, gold, lead, plates, precious mountain-stone for the adornment of his palace,
22. chariots, horses trained to his yoke, the trappings of the soldiers, the trappings of the horses, the amazons<sup>4</sup> of his palaces, his spoil
23. abundant I carried away. The city I overthrew (and) dug up. My prowess and power I laid upon the country of the SHUHITES. The fear of my sovereignty prevailed as far as the country of KAR-DUNIAS.
24. The descent of my weapons overwhelmed the country of KALDU.<sup>5</sup> On the countries beside the EUPHRATES I outpoured terror. An image

<sup>1</sup> This must be a different 'Suru from that mentioned above (p. 142, note 3).

<sup>2</sup> The Kassî, or Kossæans, originally a tribe from the mountains of Elam, had occupied a part of Babylonia, and imposed a dynasty of kings upon that country. The Kassî mentioned here were those who had settled in Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> Nabu-bal-iddina, "Nebo has given a son." We may compare the name of Merodach-baladan.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "female soldiers."

<sup>5</sup> The Kaldâ were a tribe who were settled in the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf. This is the first time that we hear of their name, but at a later period, under Merodach-baladan, the son of Yagina, they occupied Babylonia and became so integral a part of the population as to give their name to its inhabitants among Greek and Latin writers.

25. of my person I made. My prowess and power I inscribed upon (it). In the city of 'SURU I erected (it). Assur-natsir-pal the king whose fame
26. (and) power are everlasting, and whose face has been directed towards the desert; for his rule (and) his *protection* (?) his heart cries out. In the city of CALAH I was staying
27. (when) news was brought that the men of the country<sup>1</sup> of LAQE, of the city of KHINDANU (and) of the country of the SHUHITES had revolted, every one of them; the river EUPHRATES
28. they had crossed. On the 18th day of the month Sivan I departed from the city of CALAH. I crossed the TIGRIS. I entered the desert. To the city of 'SURU
29. in BIT-KHALUPE I approached. Boats for myself I constructed in the city of 'SURU. I occupied the water towards the source of the EUPHRATES. As far as
30. the narrows of the EUPHRATES I descended (the stream). The cities of Khenti-el (and) Azi-el of the country of LAQE I captured. Their warriors I slew. Their spoil
31. I carried away. The cities I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. In the course of this campaign I encompassed the lakes<sup>2</sup> of the river KHABUR as far as
32. the city of TSIBATE in the land of the SHUHITES. The cities on the hither bank of the EUPHRATES in the land of LAQE (and) in the land of the SHUHITES I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire.<sup>3</sup> Their crops (?) I cut down. Four hundred and seventy
33. of their soldiers I slew with weapons. I captured 20<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A variant text has "city."

<sup>2</sup> We must read *tamâti*.

<sup>3</sup> A variant text has "as far as the city of Tsibate in the land of the Shuhites (and) the cities on the hither bank of the Euphrates in the land of Laqe," omitting the following words.

<sup>4</sup> A variant text has "30."

- alive (and) impaled (them) on stakes. In the boats I had constructed,
34. the boats of *hardened* (?) skin, which were fastened from both sides<sup>1</sup> in the form of a pontoon, I crossed the EUPHRATES at the city of KHARIDI. The people of the countries of the SHUHITES (and) of LAQE
35. (and) of the city of KHINDANU trusted to the strength of their chariots, their armies (and) their forces, and mustered 6000 of their soldiers to make war and battle.
36. When they came forth against me, I fought with them. I utterly destroyed them. Their chariots I minished. I slew 6500 (*sic*) of their fighting-men with weapons. What was left of them
37. was devoured by the EUPHRATES amid famine in the desert.<sup>2</sup> From the city of KHARIDI in the country of the SHUHITES as far as the city of KIPINA the cities of the people of KHINDANU
38. (and) of LAQE which (are) on the further bank (of the EUPHRATES) I captured. Their warriors I slew. Their spoil I carried away. The cities I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. Azi-el the LAQIAN
39. trusted to his forces and occupied the fords at the city of KIPINA. I fought with them. (Starting) from the city of KIPINA I utterly destroyed them. A thousand
40. of his soldiers I slew. His chariots I minished. His abundant spoil I carried away. His gods I carried off. To save his life Mount Br'sURU,<sup>3</sup> an inaccessible mountain towards the source
41. of the EUPHRATES, he occupied. For two days I pursued after him. The relics of his army I slew with weapons. The mountain (and) the EUPHRATES devoured those I had destroyed of them.<sup>4</sup> As far as
42. the cities of DUMMETE<sup>5</sup> (and) AZMU, the cities of the

<sup>1</sup> *Kilallan*. *Idulâni* is from *edilu*, "to be bolted."

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps "(and) amid disease."

<sup>3</sup> Probably the modern Tel-Basher.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "their destruction."

<sup>5</sup> Called Dummut in line 44.



- son of Adinu, I pursued him. The relics of his army I slew with weapons. His abundant spoil, his oxen (and) his sheep,
43. which like the stars of heaven were numberless I carried away. At that time I carried off Ila the LAQIAN, his chariots (and) yokes of horses, (and) 500 of his soldiers.
44. To my country of ASSYRIA I brought (them). The cities of DUMMUT and AZMU I captured, overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. From the narrows of the EUPHRATES I came out. In the course of this campaign
45. I encompassed Azi-el. Before my mighty weapons, in order to save his life, he ascended (the country). Ila, the prince of the land of LAQE, his soldiers, his chariots (and) his teams
46. I carried off. To my city of ASSUR<sup>1</sup> I brought (them). Khimti-el the LAQIAN I besieged in his city. By the help of ASSUR my lord before my mighty weapons, my vehement battle
47. (and) my enormous forces he was terrified, and the booty of his palace, silver, gold, lead, copper, plates of copper (and) variegated cloths, his abundant spoil, I received, and tribute
48. (and) gifts above what I had before prescribed I imposed upon them. At that time 50 strong wild bulls on the further side of the EUPHRATES I killed ; 8 wild bulls
49. I captured alive with the hand ; 20 *esir*-birds I killed ; 20 *esir*-birds I caught alive with the hand. I founded two cities upon the EUPHRATES, one on the hither bank
50. of the EUPHRATES whose name I called KAR-ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL,<sup>2</sup> the other on the further bank of the EUPHRATES whose name I called NIBARTI-ASSUR.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now Kalch Sherghat, on the western bank of the Euphrates a little above the mouth of the Lower Zab. The statement in the text seems to be derived from the memorandum of some scribe other than the one who furnished the account in lines 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> "The fortress of Assur-natsir-pal."

<sup>3</sup> "The ford of Assur."

- On the 20th day of the month Sivan I departed from the city of CALAH ;
51. I crossed the TIGRIS ; to the country of BIT-ADINI I marched. To the city of KAP-RABI<sup>1</sup> their stronghold I approached. The city was very strong. Like a cloud of heaven it was elevated.
  52. The inhabitants trusted to their numerous soldiers and descended not to embrace my feet. By the command of ASSUR the great lord, my lord, and NERGAL who marches before me I attacked the city.
  53. With *mounds* (?) <sup>2</sup> *overthrowing* (?) (and) battering-rams I captured the city. Their numerous warriors I slew. I utterly destroyed 800 of their fighting-men. This spoil (and) their goods I carried away ; 2400
  54. of their soldiers I carried off. To the city of CALAH I transported (them). The city I overthrew, dug up (and) burned with fire. I put an end to it. I laid the fear of the glory of ASSUR my lord upon BIT-ADINI.
  55. At that time the tribute of Akhuni the son of Adini (and) of Khabini of the city of TEL-ABNA,<sup>3</sup> silver, gold, lead, copper, variegated cloths, linen vestments (and) beams
  56. of cedar, the treasures of his palace, I received. I took their hostages. I extended mercy to them. On the 8th day of the month Iyyar<sup>4</sup> I departed from the city of CALAH. The TIGRIS
  57. I crossed. To the city of CARCHEMISH<sup>5</sup> in the country of the HITTITES I took the road. To the country of BIT-BAKHIANI I approached. The tribute of the son of Bakhiani, chariots, teams, horses, silver,
  58. gold, lead, copper (and) plates of copper I received. The chariots, riding-horses (and) grooms of the son of Bakhiani I took away with me. From BIT-BAKHIANI I departed.

<sup>1</sup> "The great rock" in Aramaic.

<sup>2</sup> *Billim*.

<sup>3</sup> "The mound of the stone."

<sup>4</sup> April.

<sup>5</sup> Written *Gargamis*, the Hittite capital on the western bank of the Euphrates, now marked by the ruins of Jarablûs, a little to the north of the junction of the Sajur and the Euphrates.

59. To the country of AZALLI <sup>1</sup> I approached. The tribute of Dadu-imme <sup>2</sup> the [A]ZALIAN, chariots, teams, horses, silver, gold, lead, copper,
60. plates of copper, oxen, sheep (and) wine I received. The chariots, riding-horses (and) grooms I carried off in store with me. From the country of AZALLI I departed. To BIT-ADINI I approached.
61. The tribute of Akhuni the son of Adini, silver, gold, lead, copper, plate(s) of copper, dishes of ivory, couches of ivory, yokes of ivory,
62. thrones made of ivory, of silver (and) of gold, torques of gold, beads <sup>3</sup> of gold in large quantities, *pendants* (?) of gold, a sword-blade of gold, oxen, sheep (and) wine as his tribute I received.
63. The chariots, riding-horses (and) grooms of Akhuni I carried off with me. At that time the tribute of Khabini of the city of TEL-ABNA, 4 manehs of silver (and) 400 sheep I received from him.
64. Ten manehs of silver in his first year as a tribute I imposed upon him. From the country of BIT-ADINI I departed. The TIGRIS at its flood in boats of *hardened* (?) skin thereupon
65. I crossed. To the country of CARCHEMISH I approached. The tribute of 'Sangara king of the country of the HITTITES, 20 talents of silver, beads of gold, a chain of gold, *sword-blades* (?) of gold, 100 talents
66. of copper, 250 talents of iron, sacred bulls of copper, bowls of copper, libation-cups of copper, a *censer* (?) of copper, the multitudinous furniture of his palace, of which the like
67. was never received, <sup>4</sup> couches, seats (and) thrones, dishes (and) weapons made of ivory, 200 slave-girls, variegated cloths,
68. linen vestments, black transparent stuffs (and) gray

<sup>1</sup> See above, col. ii. line 22.

<sup>2</sup> Also written Dadu-ihme.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sahri, the Hebrew *Saharonim*, translated "crescents" in the Revised Version of Isa. iii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Or, making KI-LAL ideographic "whose weight could not be estimated."

- transparent stuffs, *sirnuma* stones, the tusks of elephants, a white chariot, (and) small images of gold in quantities, the ornaments of his royalty, I received from him. The chariots,
69. riding-horses (and) grooms of the city of CARCHEMISH I carried off with me. All the kings of the (surrounding) countries came to my presence and embraced my feet. Their hostages I took.
70. They rejoiced at my face. To the land of LEBANON they went. From the city of CARCHEMISH I departed. In sight of the countries of MUNZIGANI (and) KHAMURGA I took (my way).
71. I passed the country of AKHANU on my left. To the city of KHAZAZI<sup>1</sup> belonging to Lubarna the PATINIAN I approached; gold, cloths (and) linen vestments I received.
72. I forded the river APRE.<sup>2</sup> I crossed (it) making a halt. From the banks of the APRE I departed. To the city of KUNULUA<sup>3</sup> the capital of Lubarna the PATINIAN
73. I approached. The face of my powerful weapons (and) vehement battle he feared, and to save his life he embraced my feet. Twenty talents of silver, one talent of gold,
74. 100 talents of lead, 100 talents of iron, 1000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, 1000 variegated cloths (and) linen vestments, small images (and) weapons in quantities,
75. the legs of couches, seats (and) couches in quantities, dishes of ivory (and) numerous utensils, the multitudinous furniture of his palace, the like of which
76. had never been received, 10 female musicians, rings (and) numerous . . .<sup>4</sup> (and) the great *maces* (?)<sup>5</sup> of the great lords, as his tribute I received from him. Mercy unto him

<sup>1</sup> Now 'Azaz, a few miles north-west of Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Afrin.

<sup>3</sup> Kunulua seems to be the Gindarus of the classical writers. It is called Kinalua by Shalmaneser II, and Kunalie by Tiglath-Pileser III.

<sup>4</sup> *Kam[mate]* . . . [*ma*]*hdi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Pagutu*, written *pagiti* in S 2037, 11.

77. I extended. The chariots, riding-horses (and) grooms of the PATINIANS I carried off with me. His hostages I took. At that time the tribute of Gu'si<sup>1</sup>
78. the YAKHANIAN, silver, gold, lead, [copper],<sup>2</sup> oxen, sheep, variegated cloths, (and) linen vestments, I received. From the city of KUNULUA the capital of Labarna
79. the PATINIAN I departed. The river [ORON]TES I crossed. On the banks of the ORONTES I halted. From the banks of the ORONTES I departed. In sight
80. of the countries of YARAQI<sup>3</sup> (and) YAHTURI I took (my way). The country of . . . KU I traversed. On the banks of the river 'SANGURA<sup>4</sup> I made (a halt). From the banks of the river 'SAGURA (*sic*) I departed. In sight
81. of the countries of 'SARATINI (and) KALPANI<sup>5</sup> I took (my way). On the banks [of the river] . . . I made [off]erings. Into the city of ARIBUA the stronghold of Lubarna I entered.
82. The city I took for myself. The corn and straw of the country of LUKHUTI I harvested (and) heaped up within (it). I made a feast in his palace. Colonists from ASSYRIA
83. I settled within (it). While I was staying in the city of ARIBUA I conquered the cities of the land of LUKHUTI. Their numerous warriors I slew. I overthrew, dug up, and with fire
84. I burned. I captured (some) soldiers alive with the hand. On stakes I impaled (them) at the approach to their cities. At that time I occupied the slopes of LEBANON. To the great sea
85. of PHOENICIA I ascended. At the great sea I hung up my weapons. I offered sacrifices to the gods. The tribute of the kings of the coasts of the sea,

<sup>1</sup> Called Agu'si by Shalmaneser II, the successor of Assur-natsir-pal.

<sup>2</sup> There is a lacuna here in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Yaraqī was a district of Hamath in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Sajur, which flows from the north-west into the Euphrates near the site of Petior and a little to the south of that of Carehemish.

<sup>5</sup> Not Duppani, as Dr. Peiser reads.

86. of the TYRIANS, the SIDONIANS, the GEBALITES, the MAKHALLATIANS, the MAIZIANS, the KAIZIANS,<sup>1</sup> the PHENICIANS, and of the citizens of ARVAD
87. in the middle of the sea, silver, gold, lead, copper, plate[s] of copper, variegated cloths, linen vestments, great *maces* (?) (and) small *maces* (?),
88. *usu* wood, seats of ivory (and) a porpoise the offspring of the sea, as their tribute I received. They embraced my feet. To the mountains of KHAMANI<sup>2</sup> I ascended. Logs
89. of cedar, sherbin,<sup>3</sup> juniper (and) cypress I cut. I offered sacrifices to my gods. I erected a memorial of my warlike deeds. Upon it I *wrote* (?)<sup>4</sup>
90. The logs of cedar were *transported* (?) from the mountain of AMANUS, as materials for E-SARRA,<sup>5</sup> for my temple have I stored (them), even (for) the Temple of Rejoicing (and) for the temple of SIN and SAMAS the holy gods.
91. To the country of fir-trees<sup>6</sup> I went. The country of fir-trees throughout its whole extent I conquered. Logs of fir I cut. To the city of NINEVEH
92. I brought (them). To ISTAR the lady of NINEVEH, my benefactress I offered (them). During the eponymy of Samas-nuri,<sup>7</sup> by the command of ASSUR the great lord, my lord, on the 20th day of the month Iyyar<sup>8</sup> from
93. the city of CALAH I departed. The TIGRIS I crossed. Into the land of QIPANI I descended. The tribute of the city-chiefs of the land of QIPANI in the city of KHUZIRINA
94. I received. While I was staying in this city of

<sup>1</sup> The three cities of Makhallat, Maiz, and Kaiz are identified by Prof. Delitzsch with the later Tripolis (now Tripoli).

<sup>2</sup> Amanus, bordering on the Gulf of Antioch.

<sup>3</sup> The smaller cypress or *Oxycedrus*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the word is uncertain. It is perhaps *asqup*, from *sagapu* "to cover."

<sup>5</sup> E-sarra, "the temple of the firmament," was properly the mythological name of the sky; but actual temples were named after it in the cities of Babylonia and Assyria.

<sup>6</sup> *Mekhri*.

<sup>7</sup> B.C. 867.

<sup>8</sup> April.

- KHUZIRINA the tribute of Ittih the ZALLIAN (and) Giri-Dadi<sup>1</sup> the ASSAIAN, silver,
95. gold, oxen (and) sheep, I received. In those days beams of cedar, silver (and) gold, the tribute of Qata-zili
96. the KOMAGENIAN I received. From the city of KHUZIRINA I departed. The banks of the EUPHRATES towards (its) upper part I occupied. The country of KUPPU
97. I traversed. I entered the midst of the cities of the countries of ASSA (and) QURKHI which (are) opposite to the land of the HITTITES. The cities of UMALIA (and) KHIRANU
98. the strongholds which are situated in the neighbourhood of the country of ADANI I conquered. Their numerous warriors I slew. Their spoil to a countless amount
99. I carried away. The cities I overthrew (and) dug up. I burned with fire 150 cities which were dependent on them. From the city of KARANIA
100. I departed. Into the lowlands of the country of AMADANI<sup>2</sup> I descended. Into the midst of the country of DIRRIA I entered. The cities in sight
101. of the countries of AMADANI (and) ARQANIA I burned with fire. The country of MALLANU which adjoins the country of ARQANIA I took for myself. From the country of MALLANU I departed.
102. Into the cities of the country of ZAMBA on the banks of the bridge (I entered and) burned (them) with fire. The river TSUA I crossed. On the river TIGRIS I made (a halt). The cities
103. on the hither and further side of the TIGRIS, in the country of ARKANIA (*sic*) I reduced to mounds and ruins. All the land of QURKHI was afraid and my feet
104. embraced. Their hostages I took. I appointed a

<sup>1</sup> Called Kigiri-Dadi by Shalmaneser II. Instead of Zallian we have Azallian above, line 59.

<sup>2</sup> The country surrounding the classical Amida, now Diarbekr. The capital Amedi is mentioned in line 107.

- governor of my own to be over them. From the lowlands of the country of AMADANI I came out at the city of BARZA-NISTUN.<sup>1</sup>
105. To the city of DAMDAMU'SA the stronghold of Ilani the son of Zamani<sup>2</sup> I approached. The city I besieged. My warriors flew like bird(s) upon them.
106. I slew 600 of their fighting-men with weapons. I cut off their heads. I captured 400 soldiers alive with the hands.
107. I brought away 3000 of their captives. I took this city for myself. The living soldiers (and) the heads I brought to the city of AMEDI his capital.<sup>3</sup>
108. I built up a pyramid with the heads at the approach to his main gate. The living soldiers I impaled on stakes at the gates of his city.
109. I fought a battle within his main gate. I cut down his plantations. From the city of AMEDI I departed. Into the lowlands of Mount KASYARI (and) of the city of ALLAB'SIA
110. which none among my fathers had cut off or proclaimed (war) against (and) approached,<sup>4</sup> I descended. The city of UDA the stronghold of Labdhuri, the son of Dhubu'si
111. I approached. The city I attacked. With *mounds* (?) *battering-rams* (?) and war-engines I captured the city. I slew 14[00] of their soldiers with weapons. Five hundred and eighty men alive
112. I took with the hand. I brought away 3000 of them captive. The soldiers (I had captured) alive I impaled on stakes round about his [city]. Of some

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the Nistun mentioned in col. i. line 63. In the Vannic language of ancient Armenia *barza-nis* signified "a chapel."

<sup>2</sup> Or "the son of a rebel." According to col. i. line 110, Assur-natsirpal had already destroyed Damdamu'sa.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 173, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "of which none had made a cutting off or a proclaiming (and) approach." An army was accompanied by an *asipu* or "prophet," who determined by his *sipiti* or "proclamations" whether or not it should engage in battle. Compare line 20 above. Dr. Peiser's corrections of the text are quite unnecessary.



113. I put out the eyes. The rest of them I transported (and) brought to ASSYRIA. The city I took for [myself]. Assur-natsir-pal the great king, the powerful king, the king of ASSYRIA; the son of Tiglath-Uras,
114. the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king of ASSYRIA; the son of Rimmon-nirari the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king of the same ASSYRIA; the warrior hero, who has marched in reliance upon ASSUR his lord and among the kinglets of the four zones
115. has no rival; the shepherd of fair shows who fears not opposition, the unique one, the strong one who has no confronter, the king who subdues the disobedient, who all
116. the legions of the mighty has conquered; the powerful male who tramples on the neck of his enemies, who treads upon hostile lands, who breaks in pieces the squadrons of the strong, who in reliance on the great gods
117. his lords has marched, and his hand has overcome all countries, has conquered all mountains and has received all their tribute; the exacter of hostages, who has established empire
118. over all the world. At that time ASSUR the lord the proclaimer of my name, the magnifier of my sovereignty, his unsparing weapon to the hands of my lordship
119. entrusted. The widespread forces of the land of LULLUME I slew with weapons in mid battle. By the help of SAMAS
120. and RIMMON, the gods my ministers, over the forces of the countries of NAIRI, the country of QURKHI, the country of SUBARI and the country of NIRBE<sup>1</sup> I roared like RIMMON the inundator.
121. The king, who from the fords of the river TIGRIS to the mountains of LEBANON and the great sea, the

<sup>1</sup> "The lowlands."

- land of LAQE throughout its circuit, the land of the SHUHITEs as far as the city of RAPIQI
122. has subdued beneath his feet. From the head of the sources of the river 'SUPNAT to the lowlands of BITANI his hand has conquered. From the lowlands of KIRRURI to
123. the country of GOZAN, from the fords of the Lower ZAB to the city of TEL-BARI<sup>1</sup> which is above the ZAB as far as the city of the Mound of ZABDANI and the city of the Mound
124. of APTANI, the city of KHIRIMU, the city of KHARUTU, the country of BIRATE<sup>2</sup> belonging to BABYLONIA I have restored to the frontiers of my country. From the lowlands of the city of BABITE
125. to the country of KHASMAR I have accounted (the inhabitants) as men of my own country. In the lands which I have conquered I have appointed my governors. They have done homage. Boundaries
126. I have set for them. Assur-natsir-pal, the exalted prince, the adorer of the great gods, the unique monster, the lusty, the conqueror of cities and mountains to their furthest limits, the king of lords, the consumer
127. of the strong, the hero who spares not, the annihilator of opposition, the king of all kinglets, the king of kings, the exalted prophet, named by URAS the warrior, the hero
128. of the great gods, the king who in reliance upon ASSUR and URAS the gods his ministers has marched in righteousness, and trackless mountains and hostile princes (with) all
129. their countries has subdued beneath his feet. With the foes of ASSUR above and below he has contended and has imposed upon them tribute and gifts. Assur-natsir-pal
130. the powerful king, named by SIN,<sup>3</sup> the servant of

<sup>1</sup> "The Mound of Bari."

<sup>2</sup> Or "the Fortresses."

<sup>3</sup> The Moon-god.

- ANU,<sup>1</sup> the favourite of RIMMON,<sup>2</sup> the strongest of the gods, the weapon unsparing, the slaughterer of the land of his enemies (am) I. The king (who is) strong in battle,
131. the destroyer of cities and mountains, the firstborn of battle, the king of the four zones, the subjugator of his foes, of mighty countries (and) of [trackless] mountains. Kings valiant and *unsparing* (?) from the rising
132. of the sun to the setting of the sun have I subdued beneath my feet. One speech have I made them utter. The former city of CALAH which Shalmaneser<sup>3</sup> king of ASSYRIA, a prince who went before me, built,
133. this city had fallen into decay and had become a mound and a ruin. To restore this city anew I worked. The men whom I had captured from the countries I had conquered, from the land of the SHUHITES, from the land of LAQE
134. throughout its circuit, from the city of 'SIRQI at the ford of the EUPHRATES (and) the country of ZAMUA to its furthest limits, from BIT-ADINI and the land of the HITTITES, and from Liburna the PATINIAN, I took (and) planted within (it).
135. A canal from the Lower ZAB I excavated (and) the river PATI-KHIGAL<sup>4</sup> I called its name. I established plantations in its neighbourhood. I brought fruit and wine for ASSUR my lord and the temples of my country.
136. I changed the old mound. I dug deep as far as the level of the water. I sunk (the foundations) 120 *tikpi* to the bottom. I built up its wall. I built (it) up (and) completed (it) from its foundation to its coping-stone.

<sup>1</sup> The Sky-god.<sup>2</sup> The Air-god.<sup>3</sup> Shalmaneser I, about B.C. 1300.<sup>4</sup> "The opening of fertility," also called Babelat-khigal, "bringer of fertility" (W. A. I., i. 27, 6).

## SPECIMENS OF ASSYRIAN CORRESPONDENCE

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

THERE is probably no branch of Assyro-Babylonian literature that is more attractive than the correspondence. Not only do the letters which have been found in the ancient record-offices of Assyria and Babylonia furnish the student with specimens of the modes of thought and expression of the ordinary people, and enable him to see in what consisted their communications, what were their intrigues, their joys, and their sorrows ; but they also furnish him with valuable sidelights upon the history, religion, manners, customs, and last, not least, important philological information—the peculiar idioms and pronunciation of different districts, the varieties of style of the different scribes.

The National Collection contains several hundred tablets bearing inscriptions of this class, addressed to and from various persons in different parts of the Assyrian empire, implying a very perfect system of communication between Nineveh, the capital, and the outlying districts. The subjects treated of vary from simple greetings to descriptions of hostile demonstra-

tions, congratulations, claims upon the royal clemency, answers to astrological, philological, and other questions, medical and other reports, proclamations, etc. etc. These letters are generally oblong tablets of baked clay, across which the lines of writing are inscribed the narrow way. It is not unlikely that many of the documents of this class which have come down to us are copies, the originals having been sent away from Nineveh. Papyrus was probably used for these documents, but clay letters were also sent about. These latter sometimes had an envelope of clay around them, addressed and sealed with the sender's cylinder.

The number of dated letters is very small in comparison with those without dates, so that we can only arrive at an idea as to when they were written by internal evidence, such as names, places, and historical events. The precise dates of many of them, however, must always remain uncertain.

These documents vary in length from one to six inches, and in width from three-quarters of an inch to about two inches and a half. The present texts are of sizes about midway between these two extremes.

## NUMBER I

This text is a letter from Arad-Nanā, who seems to have been a physician, to the king of Assyria at the time, concerning a man, possibly an Assyrian prince and near relation of the king, who was ill. In-

deed, so ill was he, that the writer did not expect that he would live more than seven or eight days longer (see the last sentence of the translation). One ray of comfort only does the writer hold out, and that is, that the sufferer might recover, if the king would only cause prayer to be made to his gods.

Judging from the text, it is hardly likely that the sickness from which the man was suffering was a natural one. He had doubtless received a wound or injury—perhaps several—and it was very probable that one of these, which he had received in his head, would prove mortal.

The number of the tablet is S 1064.

#### TRANSLATION

To the king my lord, thy servant Arad-Nanā. May there be peace for ever and ever to the king my lord. May the god NINEP<sup>1</sup> and the goddess GULA give soundness of heart and soundness of flesh to the king my lord. Peace for ever.

To reduce the general inflammation of his forehead,<sup>2</sup> I have tied a bandage upon it. His face is swollen.<sup>3</sup> Yesterday, as formerly, I opened the wound which had been received in the midst of it. As for the bandage which was over the swelling, matter was upon the bandage, the size of the tip of the little finger. Thy gods, if the whole of the flesh of his body they can restore unto him, cause thou to invoke, and his mouth will cry<sup>4</sup>: "Peace for ever. May the heart of the king my lord be good."

<sup>1</sup> [Or Uras.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Literally "of the wall of his eyes."

<sup>3</sup> Literally "In his face it rises," or "there is a rising."

<sup>4</sup> Literal v "give."

He will live seven or eight days.<sup>1</sup>

The text of which the translation is given above forms one of a number published by the Rev. S. A. Smith in his book *Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Heft II (the 17th plate), to which publication I contributed a German rendering, with philological notes.<sup>2</sup> The translation here given differs slightly from that which I published in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte*. The alterations are two in number, the first being in the eleventh line of the original, where, instead of reading *sa kuri êna-su*, "which is around his eyes," I now read *sa kutal êna-su*,<sup>3</sup> "of the wall of his eyes," most likely meaning his "brows," or "forehead;"<sup>3</sup> the other change is in the nineteenth and twentieth lines of the original text, where, instead of regarding *âtuli* as a verb, with the meaning of "I raised," "took off" ("I took off the bandage which was around it"), I now take it to be a noun with the meaning of "swelling." Though the sense of the whole is pretty clear, the translation will probably be still further improved as time goes on.

Other tablets of this class exist, and one of them,

<sup>1</sup> I give here a transcription of the original text for the use of students: "Ana sarri bella, arad-ka Arad-Nanâ. Lusulmu addannis addannis ana sarri belia ; Ninep u Gula dhub libbi, dhub sêre, ana sarri belia liddinu, Sulmu addannis. Ana lakû sigru khaniu sa kutal êna-su, tal'itam ina eli urtakis, ina appisu irtumu. Ina timali, ki badi, sirdhu sa ina libbi tsabituni aptadhar. Tallitam sa ina eli utuli, sarku ina eli tallite ibbassi, ammar qagqadi ubanni tsikhirte. Ilani-ka, summa memeni sêre ida-su ina eli umedûni, sutamma pl-su ittidin : Sulmu addannis. Libbu sa sarri belia lu-dhâba. Adu ume sibittu samantu ibaladh."

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards published separately under the title *Zwei assyrische Briefe übersetzt und erklärt von Theo. G. Pinches* (Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1887).

<sup>3</sup> [*Kutalli* is shown by *Rm.*, 268.6, to signify "the brow."—*Ed.*]

K 519, is of great interest in connection with the text above translated. This other text is also from Arad-Nanā, and probably refers to the same sick man, who seems to have been the king's son. "Concerning the sick man," Arad-Nanā says, "from whose face blood flows, the Rab-mugi (Rab-mag?)<sup>1</sup> has said thus: 'Yesterday, as before, much (?) blood flowed.' He took off those bandages (*lippi ammute*) with care.<sup>2</sup> Upon the wounds (?) of his face it was inflamed (?). The injuries are improving. Before the blood<sup>3</sup> flows, let him make the opening of the nostril<sup>4</sup>—the breath<sup>5</sup> will come through, the blood will stop." A few more lines end the communication. This document, which is exceedingly interesting, is rather defaced here and there, thus greatly adding to the difficulties of a naturally difficult text. The important point about it is that, besides the interesting words that it contains, it gives the record of what may be called a surgical operation. Whether this communication preceded, in order of time, the text of which the full translation is given above, is doubtful; though, taking into consideration the hopeful tone of K 519, and the despairing tone of S 1064, the precedence of the former is exceedingly probable.

<sup>1</sup> [This is an important identification. For the Rab-mag see Jer. xxxix. 3.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Or "skill" (*lamudanute*, from the root לָמַד. Cf. Heb. לָמוּד, "expert").

<sup>3</sup> It must here be remarked, that the word "blood" (*dāmu*) is always used, as in Hebrew, in the plural. The phrase in the original is "before the bloods have flowed" (*ultu pani dāme utšūni*).

<sup>4</sup> *Pi nakhiri liskunu*, literally "the mouth of the nostril may he make."

<sup>5</sup> Literally "wind," *sāru*, a word which seems to mean also "spirit."



In the introduction it will be noticed that Ninep and Gula are invoked. The former, as a star, was sometimes named *Nin-asu*, "the lord physician." His more usual title, however, is "the warrior," and he is also named "lord of the weapon" (*bél kakki*), though the text which gives him this title invokes him to "remove the sickness."<sup>1</sup> The "warrior," able to cause wounds, was supposed to be able also to remove them. Gula, "the great lady," who is also called "the lady of Isin" or Karrag, was the consort of Ninep, especially under his name of Utu-gisgallu. Another of her names (like those already mentioned, Akkadian) is *Nin-tin-badaga*, "the lady giving life to the dead." Nebuchadnezzar speaks of her as the preserver and perfecter of his life (*edhirat, gamilat nabistia*). In another text, where she is named Nin-Karrag ("lady of Karrag"), she is spoken of as "the physician, high and great," and invoked to "take far away the grief of his (the sick man's) body." In this text her name occurs between Istar and Bau, who are apparently other forms of the same goddess.<sup>2</sup>

## NUMBER 2

This is a letter containing a complaint to the king concerning some gold which seems to have been missing. The text is numbered K 538 in the National Collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Lissiz Nineb, bel kakki, linissi muttalliki*, "may Ninep, lord of the weapon, remain, may he remove the sickness."

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. A. H. Sayce's *Lectures upon the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures for 1887), pp. 267, 268.

To the king my lord, thy servant Arad-Nabû. May there be peace to the king my lord ; may the gods ASSUR, SAMAS,<sup>1</sup> BEL, ZIRPANITUM,<sup>2</sup> NABû,<sup>3</sup> TASMETUM,<sup>4</sup> ISTAR of NINEVEH<sup>5</sup> (and) ISTAR of ARBELA,<sup>6</sup> these great gods, lovers of thy rule, let the king my lord live for a hundred years. May they satisfy the king my lord with old age and offspring.

The gold which, in the month Tisri, the *ittu*, the prefect of the palace, and I with them, missed—2 talents of standard gold (and) 6 talents of gold not standard—(this gold) the hands of the *rab-danibe*<sup>7</sup> placed in the house, he sealed it up, (and) the gold for the image of the kings<sup>8</sup> and for the image of the king's mother he gave not. Let the king my lord give command to the *ittu* (and) the prefect of the palace, that they may discover the gold. The beginning of the month is good.<sup>9</sup> Let them give it to the men. Let them do the work.<sup>10</sup>

A translation of this interesting text was contributed by me to the first series of the *Records of the Past*,<sup>10</sup> eleven years ago. Since that time the text itself, with a translation, has been published by the Rev. S. A. Smith in his *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals* (Heft II, plate 7, and pp. 30-33); and I also con-

<sup>1</sup> The Sun-god.

<sup>2</sup> The consort of Bel-Merodach, also given as Zir-banitim, "seed creatress."

<sup>3</sup> Nebo, "the teacher."

<sup>4</sup> "She who hears," Nebo's consort.

<sup>5</sup> Goddess of love.

<sup>6</sup> Goddess of war.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently this word means "chief of the metal-workers."

<sup>8</sup> Or, "for the image of our king."

<sup>9</sup> Apparently "good to begin the work."

<sup>10</sup> The following is a transcription of the original text : " Ana sarri bella, arad-ka Arad-Nabû. Lûsalimu ana sarri belia. Assur, Samas, Bel, Zirpanitum, Nabû, Tasmetum, Istar sa Ninua, Istar sa Arba'-ili, ilani annuti rabuti, raimuti sarruti-ka, estin mê sanati ana sarri belia luballidhu ; sibutu littutu, ana sarri belia lusabbu khuratsu sa ina arakh Tisriti ittu aba-égala û anaku issi-sunu nikhidhûni, salsu bilti khuratsu sakru, sissu bilti la sakru ina biti qata sa rabdanibe issakna, iktanak ; khuratsu ana tsalam sarrani, ana tsalam sa ummi sarri lâ iddin. Sarru bêli ana itti ana aba-égala dhêmu liskun, khuratsu liptiu. Res arkhi dhabûni. Ana ummâni liddinu. Dullu lipusu."

<sup>11</sup> Vol. xi. pp. 75, 76.

tributed to the same work (p. 86), a "free" translation in English, which does not essentially differ from that given above. These translations are much better than that which I gave at first, the improvements being due to the advances which have been made in the science of Assyriology since that was published.

The principal difference in the translation occurs in the second part, this difference being caused by translating the word *nikhidhuni* by "we missed," instead of "sinned" or "transgressed." It is unlikely that a man would voluntarily accuse himself of being a thief, hence this rendering. The meaning of "to miss," however, attached to this root, occurs in Hebrew, Job v. 24, "thou shalt visit thy fold and *shalt miss* nothing,"<sup>1</sup> so that the meaning here proposed for the word may be regarded as quite certain.

Another text referring to the making of images will be found in S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, Heft III, plates 12-13, and pp. 39-43.

### NUMBER 3

The third text which I give is a translation of a very interesting letter or proclamation, apparently written by Assur-bani-apli, or Assurbanipal, to the Babylonians, whilst they were subject to Assyria. After the usual royal greeting, the king speaks of

<sup>1</sup> Revised version. See also Tregelles' (Bagster and Sons), and Muhlau and Volek's *Gesenius*, under **נָחַס**.

some rumour which had reached him, anent certain seditious words uttered by a man whom he does not name, but whom he speaks of as "the wind" (*sâru*), and farther on as "the lord of slander" (*bel-dababî*).<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Assyrian king wished it to be thought that he considered this man's exhortations as simply "vain, empty words," and the man himself as beneath his notice; but the letter itself indicates that he really thought both the man and his message to be of sufficient importance to counteract if he could. He therefore exhorts the Babylonians, in fairly vigorous terms, to pay no attention to "the lord of slander," and he warns them that they are responsible for the payment of the tribute due to Assyria, which they seemed inclined to pervert to the use of the enemy of the Assyrian king, or at least to raise as much for his use until they could, with his help, throw off the Assyrian yoke. Hence the king's anger, and his impatience for a reply to his exhortation. The text is made the more interesting by the fact that it not only gives the name of the eponym during whose term of office it was written, but the name of the person by whom it was sent as well. The number of the text is K 84.

#### TRANSLATION

The will of the king to the BABYLONIANS.—Peace from me to your heart; may there be good to you. The words

<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that this person was a certain Nabû-bel-sumâti, a descendant of Merodach-baladan, who took part in a revolt against Assurbanipal. (See Geo. Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 200-204.)

which the wind for the third time now has spoken to you, all come (to me). I have heard them. Ye cannot govern the wind. By the heart of ASSUR and MERODACH, my gods, I swear that all the evil words, which it has spoken against me, I am treasuring up in my heart, and I have spoken them with my mouth. But artful is he—he has been artful. Thus the name of the BABYLONIANS itself is indeed evil unto me, and I do not listen to it. Your brotherhood, which is with the ASSYRIANS,<sup>1</sup> and your privileges, which I had confirmed, I have established; more than that there is—ye are near to my heart.<sup>2</sup> I command also, that ye listen not to his sedition. Do not make your name, which is before me,<sup>3</sup> and before all the world, evil; and commit not, yourselves, a sin against God.

And the equivalence of the word, which ye are treasuring up in your hearts, I know. It is this: "We will ignore the tax, it is turned into our tribute." That is no tribute; it is not that ye have equalised to my slanderer<sup>4</sup> the matter<sup>5</sup> of "corban and tax," it is that the payment of tribute<sup>6</sup> lies with yourselves, and failure<sup>7</sup> concerning the agreement is before God. Therefore now I send to you, that by these words ye may not join yourselves with him. Let me quickly see the answer to my letter. The bond which I have made with BEL, the service of MERODACH—this shall not be destroyed by my hands.

Month Iyyar, 23d day, eponymy of Assur-dûra-utsur. Samas-baladh'su-iqbi has brought it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally "The sons of Assyria."

<sup>2</sup> "Ye (are) with my heart."

<sup>3</sup> Literally "which has been made before me."

<sup>4</sup> Literally "lord of slander."

<sup>5</sup> Literally "name."

<sup>6</sup> Literally "the making of the tribute."

<sup>7</sup> Or, "a sin."

<sup>8</sup> The following is a transcription of the original text: "Abat sarri ana Bâbilaa. Salîmu aasi libba-kunu; lû-dhâbu kunusi. Dibbi sa sâri salasis agâ idbubakkunusi, gabbu ittibbûni alteme-sunu. Sâru la takipa-su. Ina lib Assur, Marduk, ilania attama kî dibbi bi'sûte mala ina mukhkhia idbubu, ina libbia kutstsupaku, û ina pla aqbû. Alla niklu sû, ittikiil umma sumu sa Bâbilaa raimani-su ittia lu-bais, û anaku ul asimme-si. Akhut-kunu sa itti mârâni mât Assur u kitinnuta-kunu, sa aktsuru, addi. Eli sa enna sû—itti libbia attunu. Abbittimma saratê-su la tasimmâ. Sun-kunu, sa ina pania u ina pan matâti gabbu banû, la tuba'asa, û raman-kunu ina pan ili la tukhadhdhâ. U sazatu amat sa itti libbi-kunu kutstsupakunu, anaku idi, umma ennâ: Assâ nittekirus, ana bilti-ni itara.

There are several similar proclamations to this, but probably none of them are in such a perfect state of preservation, though most of them are more interesting, because they give more precise historical indications by mentioning the names of the persons to whom they refer.

The text itself contains several interesting linguistic peculiarities. In addition to the expressions already noted, the following may prove to be of interest to the student: *raimani-su*, "his own," for *ramani-su*—probably pointing to a peculiarity of pronunciation; <sup>1</sup> *sun-kunu* for *sumkunu*, "your name" (change of *m* into *n* before *k*—not uncommon in Assyrian); *kutstsupakunu* for *kutstsupatunu*, "ye are treasuring up"—a most important variant form; the interesting phrases *yânu sî kî* . . . "it is not that . . .", and *sî kî* . . . "it is that . . ."; and the use of the demonstratives *âgâ* and *âganute*.

It is noteworthy, also, that in two passages the king speaks of God (*Ilu*), not of "the gods" (*â raman-kunu*, *ina pan Ili la tukhadhdha*, "and commit not, yourselves, a sin before God"; *u khadhdhu ina lib ade ina pan Ili*, "and a sin concerning the agreement is before God"), as if, at the time he was writing

Ul biltu sî. Yânu sî kî sumu kurbanû u assa itti bel-dababia tatasizza; sî kî sakan bilte ina eli rameni-kunu u khadhdhû ina lib adê ina pan ili. Enna adû altaprakkunusi, kî ina dibbi aganute itti-su raman-kunu la tudanipa. Khandhis gabri sipirtia lumur. Kitsru sa ana Bêl aktsur, sikipti Marduk—agâ ina qata-ya la ikhibbil.

"Arkhu Aaru, umu esrâ-salsu, limmu Assur-dûra-utsur. Samas-baladh'su-iqbi ittubil."

<sup>1</sup> In other passages of the text where the word occurs, it has the regular forms, *raman kunu* and *rameni-kunu*, "yourselves." The latter is an oblique case with vowel harmony.

these words, the One-God idea was uppermost in his mind. This was, probably, the result of a feeling inherited from the time when monotheism, more or less pure, was the possession of the Semitic race, or at least that portion of it to which the Semitic Babylonians or Assyrians and the Israelites belonged.<sup>1</sup>

The text is published in the 4th vol. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 52 of the old edition, plate 47 of the new. The colophon, accompanied by a translation, was published by G. Smith in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 181. The date of this interesting document is about 650 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> This question, which admits of a much fuller treatment and discussion than can be given to it here, is intimately bound up with the original significance and use of the divine names Jah and Jahveh (Jehovah).

## AKKADIAN HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

TRANSLATED BY G. BERTIN.

THE following hymn is interesting because it appears to have formed part of the Babylonian ritual. In each temple, at certain hours of the day and night, priests devoted to this office had to recite certain prayers or incantations. We possess in the British Museum (Table case A, Nos. 4 and 4a) two copies of this hymn. The first one is no doubt the temple copy, and the colophon gives the time at which it is to be repeated by the priest. The other tablet is what might be called an *ex-voto* copy. When ill, the Babylonians, as the Christians of the middle ages, made certain promises to the gods in case of recovery; the fulfilment of the vow was generally a tablet which was to be placed in the temple. The same custom prevailed also in Greece, but in Babylonia, literature being the most highly-prized branch of the Fine Arts, the *ex-voto* was as a rule the copy of an old tablet.

This hymn appears to have been composed in Akkadian, the religious language of Babylon, but is given with an interlinear translation in Assyro-



Babylonian ; the translation sometimes offers slight divergences from the original text, which have been noticed in the notes.

A point to be observed is that the moon, who was generally considered as a male god, is here regarded as a goddess consort of the Sun-god. In the *ex-voto* copy she is called the sister of the Sun. We might conclude from this variant that the Moon, in the Babylonian as in the Egyptian mythology, was sister and wife of the Sun.

Throughout the hymn there seems to be a certain Semitic or Hamitic rather than Akkadian under-current of thought.

Both copies are written in the later Babylonian style of writing, and date probably from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. The text has been published, with a French translation and notes by myself, in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. i. part iv.

## HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

O Sun, in the middle of the sky, at thy setting,  
may the bright gates welcome thee favourably,<sup>1</sup>  
may the door of heaven be docile to thee.  
May the god director,<sup>2</sup> thy faithful messenger, mark the way!  
In E-BARA,<sup>3</sup> seat of thy royalty, he makes thy greatness  
shine forth.  
May the Moon, thy beloved spouse,<sup>4</sup> come to meet thee  
with joy.<sup>5</sup>  
May thy heart rest in peace.  
May the glory of thy godhead remain with thee.  
Powerful hero, O Sun ! shine gloriously.<sup>6</sup>  
Lord of E-BARA, direct in thy road thy foot rightly.  
O Sun, in making thy way, take the path marked for thy  
rays !  
Thou art the lord of judgments over all nations.

## COLOPHON OF THE TEMPLE COPY

This is the hymn to the setting sun, the incantator<sup>7</sup> says  
it after the beginning of the night.

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian version has "speak of peace to thee."

<sup>2</sup> This is the god who walked in front of the Sun, the forerunner.

<sup>3</sup> E-bara is the name of the temple of the Sun-god.

<sup>4</sup> One of the two copies says "thy beloved sister;" the Moon was considered sometimes as wife, sometimes as sister of the Sun, as perhaps being both.

<sup>5</sup> The Assyrian has "go in front of thee."

<sup>6</sup> The Assyrian has "glorify thyself."

<sup>7</sup> This is the name of a class of priests, whose functions were to repeat certain prayers or incantations at certain hours.

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*First line of the next Tablet.*

O Sun, rising in the shining sky.<sup>1</sup>

Tablet which Nabu-damik, son of . . . . has copied and translated from the old copy.

COLOPHON OF THE EX-VOTO COPY.

Nabu-balatsu-ikbi, son of E-sagilian, for the preservation of his life has had this tablet written for Nebo, his lord, by Nabu-epis-akhi, son of E-sagilian, and placed it in the temple E-ZIDA.

<sup>1</sup> When tablets formed a series, each one always gave at the end the first line of the next tablet of the series. In this case the line is important, because, as the hymn to the setting sun is given first, it shows that the Babylonians, like the Jews, placed the night first.

## THE MOABITE STONE

TRANSLATED BY DR. A. NEUBAUER

THE Moabite stone was discovered by the Rev. F. Klein, on the site of Dibon (now Dhibān), on the 19th of August 1868. When on his way to the Bekka his attention was drawn by a friendly sheikh to a black basalt stone in the vicinity of his tent. This stone, about 3 ft. 10 in. high, 2 ft. in breadth, and 14½ in. in thickness, and rounded both at the top and the bottom to nearly the shape of a semicircle, contained an inscription on one side consisting of thirty-four lines. The discoverer, although he did not immediately recognise the importance of his find, had good sense enough to try to acquire it for the museum at Berlin. As soon as the natives learned that the infidels were in search of the monument, they began to interest all persons they could get hold of in it. Captain Warren (of the Palestine Exploration Fund) was informed of its existence some weeks after Klein's discovery, but knowing that the Berlin Museum was already concerned in the matter, he took no steps towards its acquisition till 1869. However, whilst the negotiations of the Prussian Government were

making only slow progress, everything in the East moving but slowly, M. Clermont-Ganneau, then dragoman of the French Consulate in Jerusalem, wisely took at once the necessary steps for procuring squeezes and copies of the inscription, and finally endeavoured to buy the monument itself. Fortunately he was successful in his attempt to obtain a squeeze of the inscription while the stone was still in its entirety, for it soon became too late. After the Turkish authorities had begun to interfere, the Bedouins of the country of Dhibān, rather than give up the monument for the benefit of the Pasha and Mûdir, broke the stone by first making a fire under it, and then pouring cold water on it, and subsequently distributed the pieces among themselves to be used as amulets and charms. Thus, through the zeal of those who acted in the name of two European countries, one of the earliest Semitic monuments written in alphabetical characters was irretrievably ruined.

For a detailed history of the vicissitudes undergone by the stone, I must refer to Dr. Ginsburg's second edition of his work on the Moabite inscription, and to M. Héron de Villefosse's notice (see full title below, p. 196), who does not, however, even mention the name of Klein. Happily more than half of the inscription remained intact, and M. Clermont-Ganneau's squeezes and copies supply in large measure the lacunæ in the text, as may be seen from an inspection of the original monument, which now adorns the museum of the Louvre. It stands there

in its original shape, the lacunæ being supplied from the squeezes and copies. And from this monument, as reproduced in 1886 by Professors Rudolf Smend and Albert Socin, I shall give the translation which follows.

It would be superfluous to mention in detail all the literature that bears upon the stone. The reader will find it given up to 1875 in M. Héron de Villefosse's monograph under the title of *Notice des monuments provenant de la Palestine*, Paris, 1876, arranged according to the countries to which the authors belong. It is seldom that such a number of names can be found contributing to a subject of Oriental study, as was the case with the Moabite inscription. I shall mention them in alphabetical order, the names being taken from M. Héron de Villefosse's work. They are—Auerbach (J.); Ballagi; Beke (D.); Bensly; Bonelly; Burton (A. F. and Ch.); \*Clermont-Ganneau; Colenso (Bishop); Derenbourg (J.); Deutsch (E.); Fabiani; Geiger (A.); \*Ginsburg (Ch. D.); Goldziher; Grove (G.); Halévy (Abraham); Harkavy; Haug; Hayes Ward; \*Héron de Villefosse; Himpel; \*Hitzig; Howard Crosby; Jenkins (G.); \*Kaempff; Levi (M.A.); Merx; Neubauer (A.); \*Noeldeke; Oppert (J.); Palmer (E. H.); Petermann; Rawlinson (G. and Sir H.); Renan; Rougé (Vicomte de); Sabatier; Sachs (S.); \*Schlottmann; Schrader (E.); Schroeder; Smend; Socin; Testa; \*Vogüé (Comte de); Warren (Sir Ch.); Weier; Wright (W.). The names to which

an asterisk is prefixed are those of authors who have published separate works on the subject ; the contributions of the others are scattered through periodicals and daily and weekly papers, in many languages, viz., English, French, Italian, German, Hebrew, and Greek (Schroeder). I shall not supply here the titles of the periodicals nor of the separate monographs ; this I hope will be done either by M. Clermont-Ganneau when he gives us his final commentary on the inscription, or in a second edition of the pamphlet published by Professors Smend and Socin.

Our bibliographical list will not be complete without a notice of the Rev. A. Löwy's article on "The apocryphal character of the Moabite Stone" in the *Scottish Review* for April 1887. Mr. Löwy's article was ingenious, but, as was pointed out in the *Athenæum*, *Academy*, and *Guardian*, was destitute of palæographical support, and his conclusions have not been accepted by any other Semitic scholar.

M. Clermont-Ganneau promised as far back as 1875 a final publication of this important inscription according to all the materials at his disposal. But of this edition nothing exists except a bookseller's advertisement. In a catalogue of M. Ernest Leroux, 1878, M. Clermont-Ganneau's final publication was announced under the following title :—"La stèle de Méša, roi de Moab (ix<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J. C.). Edition définitive, avec les photographies du monument et de l'estampage, le plan du pays où la stèle fut découverte, plusieurs planches d'inscriptions, fac-

simile, vignette, etc. (sous presse), 20 fr." Up to the present date nothing more has been heard of this authoritative edition.

In 1885 two German professors, Dr. Rudolf Smend of Bâle and Dr. Albert Socin of Tübingen, seeing that the long-expected edition of M. Clermont-Ganneau had been postponed indefinitely, and feeling the necessity of such an edition for the purposes of instruction in the university, decided to make one with the help of the original in the Louvre, and of the squeeze made by the Arab for M. Clermont-Ganneau, as well as of another squeeze in the library of Bâle. The edition, which is the result of hard, minute, and skilful labour on the part of the two professors, is now the final and authoritative edition of the inscription, although contested on many points by M. Clermont-Ganneau in an article (not always impartially written) in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1887, tome ix. p. 72 *sqq.*, and by M. Renan in the *Journal des Savants*, 1887. In my translation I shall notice the differences between M. Clermont-Ganneau's readings and those of the two professors, adding a few remarks of my own.

Let me say at once that the last four lines of the inscription are hopelessly inexplicable owing to the lacunæ found in them.

The object of the inscription is to commemorate the victory of Mesha over his Israelitish enemy. Chemosh was once angry with Moab and caused them to lose territory and even to be conquered by



Israel. Chemosh then showed favour to his nation and Moab was victorious. The Moabites not only recaptured the towns they had lost, but added others to them which they took from Israel. Mesha captured the priests (?) of the god or goddess Dodo and Jahweh, and hewed them in pieces before Chemosh, just as Samuel hewed Agag before Jahweh. Mesha took great pains to construct cisterns in some of the towns belonging to Moab. The Moabite dialect is tinged with non-biblical words and forms, but the construction remains biblical. The characters are Phœnician, and form a link between those of the Baal Lebanon inscription (of the tenth century B.C.), and those of the Siloam text.

## THE MOABITE STONE

1. I, Mesha son of Chemosh-melech<sup>1</sup> King of MOAB the DI-
2. BONITE.<sup>2</sup> My father reigned over MOAB thirty years<sup>3</sup> and I reig-
3. ned after my father. I made this monument to CHEMOSH at KORKHAH.<sup>4</sup> A monument of Sal-
4. vation, for he saved me from all invaders,<sup>5</sup> and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. Omr-
5. i [was] King of ISRAEL, and he oppressed MOAB many days, for CHEMOSH was angry with his
6. land. His son followed him, and he also said : I shall oppress MOAB. In my days CHEMOSH<sup>6</sup> said,
7. I will see my desire on him and his house. And ISRAEL surely perished for ever. Omri took the land<sup>7</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> The letter *m* is doubtful according to M. Clermont-Ganneau, but no other is possible. Chemosh-melech is a compound analogous to Eli-melech.

<sup>2</sup> Dibon is said to have been built by Gad (Numb. xxxii. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Probably a round number like 40 in 1. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Most likely a district of Dibon, perhaps alluded to in Isaiah xv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Smend-Socin read **המלכן** "the Kings," which would presuppose an allied force, of which there is no further question in the inscription, nor does the Bible mention that Mesha was assisted in his revolt by allies. The **מ** is according to M. Clermont-Ganneau doubtful. The following restorations are possible: 1st, **השלכן** "freebooters." Comp. **שלך** Lev. xi. 18, A.V. "pelican," or identical with **השלחן**, "swordsmen." 2d, **החלבן** "the misfortunes" or "misery," Comp. Ps. x. 8.

<sup>6</sup> The reading **כדבר** by S.S. is not idiomatic; **כזה** would do better. According to M. C.-G. there seems to be the trace of a **מ** following the **ב**. I propose therefore the word **[מש]**.

<sup>7</sup> According to M. C.-G. : S.S. read "all the land;" of the word *all* there is no trace in the inscription.

8. MEDEBA,<sup>1</sup> and [ISRAEL] dwelt in it during his days and half of the days of his son, altogether forty years.<sup>2</sup> But there dwelt in it<sup>3</sup>
9. CHEMOSH in my days. I built BAAL-MEON<sup>4</sup> and made therein the ditches:<sup>5</sup> I built
10. KIRJATHAIN:<sup>6</sup> the men of GAD dwelled in the land of ATAROTH<sup>7</sup> from of old, and built there the King of
11. ISRAEL ATAROTH; and I made war against the town and seized it. And I slew all the [people of]
12. the town, for the pleasure of CHEMOSH and MOAB: I captured from there the *Arel*<sup>8</sup> of DODA<sup>9</sup> and tore
13. him before CHEMOSH in KERIOTH:<sup>10</sup> And I placed therein the men of SRN<sup>11</sup> and the men

<sup>1</sup> A city in Reuben (Numbers xxi. 30); later belonging to Moab (Isaiah xv. 2).

<sup>2</sup> A round number, nearer to 40 than to 30.

<sup>3</sup> S.S. translate: "and Chemosh gave it back;" יי [שב] בה gives a better sense. Comp. line 33.

<sup>4</sup> Also Beth-baal-meon, a city in Reuben, Josh. xiii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> אִשְׁוּה is perhaps an Arabic plural form of שׁוּחָה.

<sup>6</sup> Kirjathaim, a city in Reuben (Numb. xxxii. 37).

<sup>7</sup> A city in Gad (Numb. xxxii. 3).

<sup>8</sup> Arel or Ariel in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 means no doubt heroes where the A.V. has "he slew two lionlike men of Moab;" and the R.V., "he slew the two sons of Ariel of Moab." Perhaps it was a dialectic word peculiar to the trans-Jordanic country; we find a son of Gad with the name of *Arel*i (Gen. xlv. 16; Numb. xxvi. 17). It is used also in Isaiah xxxiii. 7, A.V. and R.V., "their valiant ones" (the Hebrew being *Erelam*, perhaps better *Erelim*, "valiant ones," parallel to the following expression, "the messengers of peace," or "messengers of Shalem," i.e. Jerusalem). Possibly the word אַרְיָה (Isaiah xv. 9; LXX. καὶ Ἀριῆλ; A.V. "lions upon him;" R.V. "a lion upon him"—Isaiah xxi. 8; LXX. Οὐραν; A.V. "And he cried, A lion;" R.V. "and he cried as a lion;" better "the hero" or "watchman called out") should be read *Aryah*, a compound of *Ar* and *yah*, analogous to *Ar-el*. And so perhaps in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. Ariel is also the name of the stronghold (Zion) of David (Isaiah xxix. 1, 2), and later of a part (? the Holy of Holies) of the Temple (Ezekiel xliii. 15, 16; LXX. ἀριῆλ; A.V. and R.V. altar).

<sup>9</sup> Or Dodo, perhaps connected with the Carthaginian Dido. The persons named Dodo in the Bible are usually heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 9, 24); thus we have Dodavahu (2 Chr. xx. 37) and Dodai (1 Chr. xxvii. 4), where Dodo is compounded with Yahu. In our inscription Dodo is parallel with Yahveh (line 17).

<sup>10</sup> A city in Moab (Jer. xlviii. 24; Amos ii. 2).

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps to be pronounced Sharon.

14. of MKHRTH.<sup>1</sup> And CHEMOSH said to me, Go seize NEBO<sup>2</sup> upon Israel: and
15. I went in the night and fought against it from the break of dawn till noon: and I took
16. it, and slew all, 7000 men, [boys?],<sup>3</sup> women, [girls],<sup>3</sup>
17. and female slaves, for to ASHTAR-CHEMOSH<sup>4</sup> I devoted them. And I took from it the *Arels*<sup>5</sup> of JAHVEH and tore them before CHEMOSH. And the King of ISRAEL built
18. JAHAZ,<sup>6</sup> and dwelt in it, whilst he waged war against me; CHEMOSH drove him out before me. And
19. I took from MOAB 200 men, all chiefs, and transported them to JAHAZ, which I took
20. to add to it DIBON. I built KORKHAH, the wall of the forests and the wall
21. of the citadel: I built its gates and I built its towers. And
22. I built the house of MOLOCH, and I made sluices of the water ditches<sup>7</sup> in the middle
23. of the town. And there was no cistern in the middle of the town of KORKHAH, and I said to all the people, Make for
24. yourselves every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the canals<sup>8</sup> for KORKHAH by means of the prisoners
25. of ISRAEL. I built AROER<sup>9</sup> and I made the road in [the province of] the ARNON.<sup>10</sup> [And]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Me-Hereth; comp. in 1 Sam. xxii. 5, the name of a forest in Moab and the prefix Me in Me-deba (Numb. xxi. 30).

<sup>2</sup> Most probably a city near Mount Nebo in Moab.

<sup>3</sup> M. Clermont-Ganneau contests the reading of Smend and Socin. In his restoration only מֶרֶן and מֶרֶת could give a sense, viz. "Men and masters, women, mistresses" (where מֶרֶת would have to be derived from the form מֶרֶה).

<sup>4</sup> The male divinity of Ashtoreth, which is to be found in Himyaritic inscriptions, compounded with Chemosh.

<sup>5</sup> The parallelism of line 12 requires אֲרָאֵל here. M. Clermont-Ganneau makes too many objections to this reading here and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> City in Moab (Isaiah xv. 4).

<sup>7</sup> See above, line 9.

<sup>8</sup> Literally "the cuttings."

<sup>9</sup> City in Moab (Deut. ii. 36).

<sup>10</sup> A torrent in Moab (Numb. xxi. 13 sqq.)

26. I built BETH-BAMOTH,<sup>1</sup> for it was destroyed. I built  
BEZER,<sup>2</sup> for in ruins  
27. [it was. And all the chiefs]<sup>3</sup> of DIBON were 50, for  
all DIBON is subject; and I placed<sup>4</sup>  
28. one hundred [chiefs]<sup>5</sup> in the towns which I added to  
the land: I built  
29. BETH-MEDEBA<sup>6</sup> and BETH-DIBLATHAIN<sup>7</sup> and BETH-  
BAAL-MEON<sup>8</sup> and transported thereto the [shep-  
herds (?) . . .  
30. and the pastors]<sup>9</sup> of the flocks of the land. And  
at HORONAIM<sup>10</sup> dwelt there<sup>11</sup> . . .  
31. . . . And CHEMOSH said to me, Go down, make war  
upon HORONAIM. I went down [and made war]  
32. . . . And CHEMOSH dwelt<sup>12</sup> in it during my days. I  
went up from thence . . .  
33. . . . And I . . .

<sup>1</sup> Most likely Bamoth (Numb. xxi. 19 and Isaiah xv. 2, where the right reading is perhaps *עלה בית הבמות ודיבן לבכי*). Perhaps identical with Bamoth Baal (Joshua xiii. 17).

<sup>2</sup> City in Reuben (Deut. iv. 43).

<sup>3</sup> I supply *והא וכל רש*.

<sup>4</sup> *מלאתי*.

<sup>5</sup> *רש* [מאת].

<sup>6</sup> City in Reuben (Numb. xxi. 30), afterwards belonging to Moab (Isaiah xv. 2). I read *בית מירבא* for *בית מירבא* of Smend and Soein.

<sup>7</sup> Beth-Diblathaim, a city in Moab (Jer. xlviii. 22).

<sup>8</sup> A town of Reuben, later belonging to Moab (Josh. xiii. 17; Jer. xlviii. 23).

<sup>9</sup> *רעי* . . .

<sup>10</sup> A city in Moab (Isaiah xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34).

<sup>11</sup> The reading of Smend and Soein is here too doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> See the same expression in line 8.

# TABLE OF THE EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES

| Dynasty.            |                | Capital.      | Modern Name.                  | Approximate<br>Date according<br>to Mariette. | Approximate<br>Date according<br>to Wiedemann. |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---|--|
| THE OLD EMPIRE.     |                |               |                               |   |  |
| I.                  | Thinite        | This          | <i>Girgeh</i>                 | B.C. 5004                                     | B.C. 5650                                      |
| II.                 | Thinite        | This          | <i>Girgeh</i>                 | 4751  | 5400   |
| III.                | Memphite       | Memphis       | <i>Mitrahenny</i>             | 4449  | 5100   |
| IV.                 | Memphite       | Memphis       | <i>Mitrahenny</i>             | 4235  | 4875   |
| V.                  | Memphite       | Memphis       | <i>Mitrahenny</i>             | 3951  | 4600   |
| VI.                 | Elephantine    | Elephantinê   | <i>Ceziret-Assonan</i>        | 3703  | 4450   |
| VII.                | Memphite       | Memphis       | <i>Mitrahenny</i>             | 3500  | 4250   |
| VIII.               | Memphite       | Memphis       | <i>Mitrahenny</i>             | 3500  | 4250   |
| IX.                 | Herakleopolite | Herakleopolis | <i>Ahnas el-Med-<br/>îneh</i> | 3358  | 4100   |
| X.                  | Herakleopolite | Herakleopolis | <i>Ahnas el-Med-<br/>îneh</i> | 3249  | 3700   |
| XI.                 | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | 3064  | 3510   |
| THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.  |                |               |                               |   |  |
| XII.                | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | 2851  | 3450   |
| XIII.               | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | ...   | 3250   |
| XIV.                | Xoite          | Xois          | <i>Sakha</i>                  | 2398  | 2800   |
| THE SHEPHERD KINGS. |                |               |                               |   |  |
| XV.                 | Hyksos         | Tanis (Zoan)  | <i>San</i>                    | 2214  | 2325   |
| XVI.                | Hyksos         | Tanis         | <i>San</i>                    | ...   | 2050   |
|                     | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | ...   | ...  |
| XVII.               | Hyksos         | Tanis         | <i>San</i>                    | ...   | 1800   |
|                     | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | ...   | ...  |
| THE NEW EMPIRE.     |                |               |                               |   |  |
| XVIII.              | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | 1700  | 1750   |
| XIX.                | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | 1400  | 1490   |
| XX.                 | Diospolitan    | Thebes        | <i>Luxor, etc.</i>            | 1200  | 1280   |
| XXI.                | Tanite         | Tanis         | <i>San</i>                    | 1100  | 1100   |
| XXII.               | Bubastite      | Bubastis      | <i>Tel Bast</i>               | 966   | 975  |
| XXIII.              | Tanite         | Tanis         | <i>San</i>                    | 766   | 810  |
| XXIV.               | Saite          | Sais          | <i>Sa el-Hagar</i>            | 733   | 720  |
| XXV.                | Ethiopian      | Napata        | <i>Mount Barkal</i>           | 700   | 715  |
| XXVI.               | Saite          | Sais          | <i>Sa el-Hagar</i>            | 666   | 664  |
| XXVII.              | Persian        | Persepolis    | ...                           | 527   | 525  |
| XXVIII.             | Saite          | Sais          | <i>Sa el-Hagar</i>            | ...   | 415  |
| XXIX.               | Mendesian      | Mendes        | <i>Eshmun er-<br/>Român</i>   | 399   | 408  |
| XXX.                | Sebennyte      | Sebennytois   | <i>Semenhûd</i>               | 378   | 387  |

## LIST OF KINGS OF ASSYRIA

Sargon asserts that he was preceded by 330 Assyrian kings.

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### HIGH-PRIESTS OF THE GOD ASSUR AT ASSUR (KALEH SHERGHAT) :—

|   | B.C.      |
|---|-----------|
| Isme-Dagon . . . . .  | cir. 1850 |
| Samsi-Rimmon I his son . . . . .                                      | 1820      |
| . . . . .   |           |
| Igur-kapkapu . . . . .  | —         |
| Samsi-Rimmon II his son (builder of the temple<br>of Assur) . . . . . | —         |
| . . . . .   |           |
| Khallu . . . . .  | —         |
| Irisum his son . . . . .  | —         |

### KINGS OF ASSYRIA :—

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Bel-kapkapu "the founder of the monarchy" <sup>1</sup> . . . . . | — |
| . . . . .  |   |
| Ada'si . . . . .   | — |

<sup>1</sup> In W. A. I. i. 35. 3. 24-26, we must read *Bel-kapkapu sarru pani alik makhri qudmu sarruti sa ana tsulili-sa ultu ullâ Assur ibbâ 'sima-su*, "Bel-kapkapu a former king who went before me, the founder of the monarchy, for whose protection Assur had from remote times proclaimed his destiny." There is no mention of a king Tsulili.

|  | B.C.      |
|--|-----------|
| Bel-Bani his son . . . . .   | —         |
| Assur-suma-esir . . . . .  | —         |
| Uras-tuklat-Assuri his son (contemporary of Mur-<br>gas-'Sipak of Babylonia) . . . . . | —         |
| Erba-Rimmon . . . . .  | —         |
| Assur-nadin-akhi his son . . . . .   | —         |
| Assur-bil-nisi-su (contemporary of Kara-indas of<br>Babylonia) . . . . .               | —         |
| Buzur-Assur (contemporary of Burna-buryas of<br>Babylonia) . . . . .                   | cir. 1430 |
| Assur-yuballidh <sup>1</sup> . . . . .   | 1400      |
| Bel-nirari his son . . . . .   | 1380      |
| Pudilu his son . . . . .   | 1360      |
| Rimmon-nirari I his son (contemporary of Nazi-<br>Urus of Babylonia) . . . . .         | 1340      |
| Shalmaneser I his son (the founder of Calah) . . . . .                                 | 1320      |
| Tiglath-Uras I his son <sup>2</sup> . . . . .  | 1300      |

<sup>1</sup> According to the "Synchronistic Tablet" Buzur-Assur was a contemporary of Burna-buryas of Babylonia, and since two of the royal correspondents of Amenophis IV Khu-en-Aten of Egypt, as we learn from the newly-discovered cuneiform tablets of Tel el-Amarna, were Assur-yuballidh of Assyria and Burna-buryas of Babylonia, it is probable that Assur-yuballidh was the successor of Buzur-Assur. According to the "Synchronistic Tablet" Assur-yuballidh's daughter Muballidhat-Serûa was the mother of Kara-Urus, king of Babylonia, who was murdered and succeeded by an usurper Nazi-bugas. Nazi-bugas himself had to make way for Kur-galzu "the younger," the son of Burna-buryas.

<sup>2</sup> A seal belonging to Tiglath-Uras was carried to Babylon B.C. 1290 and recovered by Sennacherib 600 years later. Unfortunately we do not know whether the seal was carried away during the lifetime of Tiglath-Uras or after his death. In any case his date must be earlier than B.C. 1290.



|   |           |
|---|-----------|
|   | B.C.      |
| Assur-narara . . . . .                                  | cir. 1250 |
| Nebo-dân his son <sup>1</sup> . . . . .                 | 1230      |
| . . . . .   |           |
| Bel-kudurra-utsur . . . . .                             | 1210      |
| Uras-pileser . . . . .                                  | 1190      |
| Assur-dan I his son <sup>2</sup> . . . . .              | 1170      |
| Mutaggil-Nebo his son . . . . .                         | 1150      |
| Assur-ris-isi his son <sup>3</sup> . . . . .            | 1130      |
| Tiglath-pileser I his son <sup>4</sup> . . . . .        | 1110      |
| Assur-bil-kala his son . . . . .                        | 1090      |
| Samsi-Rimmon I his brother . . . . .                    | 1070      |
| . . . . .   |           |
| Assur-rab-buri . . . . .                                | —         |
| . . . . .   |           |
| Tiglath-pileser II . . . . .                            | 950       |
| Assur-dân II his son . . . . .                          | 930       |
| Rimmon-nirari II his son . . . . .                      | B.C. 911  |
| Tiglath-Uras II his son . . . . .                       | 889       |
| Assur-natsir-pal his son . . . . .                      | 883       |
| Shalmaneser II his son . . . . .                        | 858       |
| Assur-dain-pal his son (rebel king) . . . . .           | 825       |
| Samsi-Rimmon II his brother . . . . .                   | 823       |
| Rimmon-nirari III his son . . . . .                     | 810       |
| Shalmaneser III . . . . .                               | 781       |
| Assur-dân III . . . . .                                 | 771       |
| Assur-nirari . . . . .                                  | 753       |
| Tiglath-pileser III Pulu (Pul, Poros) usurper . . . . . | 745       |
| Shalmaneser IV Ululâ usurper . . . . .                  | 727       |
| Sargon (? Jareb) usurper . . . . .                      | 722       |

<sup>1</sup> These two kings were contemporaries of the Babylonian king Rimmon-suma-natsir, for whom cf. *Records of the Past*, new Ser., i. p. 16, no. 24.

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary of the Babylonian king Zamama-nadin-sumi, *Records*, new Ser., i. p. 16, no. 27.

<sup>3</sup> A contemporary of the Babylonian king Nebo-kudurra-utsur.

<sup>4</sup> Defeated by Merodach-nadin-akhi of Babylonia in B.C. 1106 according to Sennacherib; see *Records*, new Ser., i. p. 87.

|   | B.C. |
|---|------|
| Sennacherib his son . . . . .                           | 705  |
| Esar-haddon I his son . . . . .                         | 681  |
| Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapallos) his son . . . . .        | 668  |
| Assur-etil-ilani-yukinni his son <sup>1</sup> . . . . . | 648? |
| Sin-sarra-iskun . . . . .                               | ?    |
| Esar-haddon II (Sarakos) . . . . .                      | ?    |
| Destruction of Nineveh . . . . .                        | 606  |

<sup>1</sup> He was still reigning over Babylonia in his 4th year.

## EGYPTIAN CALENDAR

| Months.       | Sacred<br>Year begins | Alexandrine <sup>1</sup><br>Year begins |
|---------------|-----------------------|---|
| Thoth         | July 20               | August 29                               |
| Paophi        | August 19             | September 28                            |
| Athyr         | September 18          | October 28                              |
| Khoiak        | October 18            | November 27                             |
| Tybi          | November 17           | December 27                             |
| Mekhir        | December 17           | January 26                              |
| Phamenoth     | January 16            | February 25                             |
| Pharmuthi     | February 15           | March 27                                |
| Pakhons       | March 17              | April 26                                |
| Payni         | April 16              | May 26                                  |
| Epeiphi       | May 16                | June 25                                 |
| Mesorê        | June 15               | July 25                                 |
| The Epagomenæ |                       | August 24-28                            |

<sup>1</sup> The Alexandrine year began B.C. 25.

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